Towards a housing policy that accommodates children: A study of entitlements and entitlement failures in the National Housing Subsidy Scheme

KATHARINE HALL
HLLKAT003

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

Signature:_____ Date: 27 August 2010

Preface

I am employed as a researcher in the Child Poverty Programme of the Children's Institute, a policy research institute at the University of Cape Town. This thesis topic is directly related to a large piece of research on which I have worked for the past five years, and which was fully funded, mainly by Save the Children, Sweden.

The broad study, called the *Means to Live*, focuses on a 'package' of targeted services, grants and other benefits, of which children are the direct or indirect beneficiaries. The idea of a package of programmes emerged in the Taylor Commission of Inquiry, which emphasised the need for an integrated, inter-sectoral approach to addressing poverty. Thus far, there has been little comparative analysis of programmes with a view to integration of poverty alleviation strategies.

Programmes selected for the Means to Live are national programmes, most of which are designed to address children's socio-economic rights. The housing subsidy and free basic water are programmes which are targeted at household level and are not conceptualised around children at all, although they are the main national programmes that address children's right to shelter and water respectively. In the Means to Live project, all these programmes are assessed from the perspective of children.

1. the **Child Support Grant** of the Department of Social Development (right to social security);

2. **Free primary health care and free health care and children under the age of 6** of the Department of Health (right to basic health care);

3. the **School Fee Exemption Policy** of the Department of Education (right to education);

4. the **National School Nutrition Programme** of the Department of Education (right to basic nutrition and right to education);

5. the **Housing Subsidy Scheme** of the Department of Housing (right to shelter and right of access to adequate housing);

6. the **Free Basic Water policy** of the Department of Provincial & Local Government (right to basic services and access to adequate housing)

Through the *Means to Live*, we seek to support the development of a more comprehensive, integrated package of programmes for children living in poverty, and the households in which they live.

Naturally, issues of authorship are a concern when a thesis is derived from a joint research project. The core research team consisted of myself and two previous colleagues, Annie Leatt and Solange Rosa – both of whom left the Children's Institute during the course of the project. We discussed authorship issues and agreed that sections of the report written by individuals would remain their own intellectual property. Sections which are jointly written are clearly indicated, as is any use of primary research undertaken by other team members. As a team, we are supportive of

each other's academic endeavours and have a common interest in the work which will be derived from the project, particularly where it benefits children.

Before I joined the Institute, my colleagues had agreed on the broad scope of the research and identified the need for policy review and primary research to investigate targeting mechanisms in government poverty alleviation programmes and service delivery. I subsequently took primary responsibility for the methodological design of the study, the development of questionnaires and analysis plans. I designed the sample, coordinated the fieldwork and personally undertook all of the primary research among housing officials, as well as some of the other interviews. For the last two years, I was principal investigator, taking primary responsibility for the analysis and report-writing.

In the project report we cannot do justice to all the information gathered. Although the main purpose of the research is to look at the programmes as part of an integrated poverty alleviation strategy, each programme is worthy of an extensive evaluation on its own. I have always been interested in the housing sector, and am increasingly fascinated by the (lack of) conceptual overlap between housing policy and children's rights. Housing is a crucial consideration for all children, and I hope that my work will help in placing children more firmly on the housing agenda.

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Thank you.

Abstract

This research is about a targeted response to poverty. The poverty alleviation programme in question is the South African National Housing Subsidy Scheme, and the thesis aims to bring together issues of child poverty and housing policy. In doing so, it addresses a number of gaps in the child poverty and housing literature.

First, the evaluation is from the perspective of children, who are important beneficiaries but who tend to be ignored in the housing discourse. The research considers the issue of housing delivery and urban planning in the context of child urban migration – another under-explored subject.

Second, the focus is specifically on targeting. The existing South African literature on targeting tends to focus either on the outcomes or impact of targeted programmes (for instance, on poverty, livelihoods, wellbeing) or on the design, efficacy and cost-effectiveness of targeting (generally from a funder-implementer perspective). There is a lack research in South Africa which evaluates targeting mechanisms specifically.

The thesis is underpinned by a rights framework, where children's socio-economic rights provide the standard for evaluating the housing programme, and the analysis is grounded in appropriate theory related to poverty and poverty alleviation. Ironically, it is often the poorest and most remote households who are least likely to access poverty alleviation programmes. In investigating the causes of exclusion, I am mindful of what Amartya Sen describes as "entitlement failures", or the inability to acquire the benefit. Programmes may be designed to alleviate poverty through financial assistance or the provision of material goods, but to what extent do the poor people who are targeted have the resources and commodities required to access them? Ultimately housing is about location, and exclusion from housing subsidies may limit parents' (and particularly mothers') ability to make strategic choices about where and with whom their children live.

The study sets out to evaluate the Housing Subsidy Scheme from a child-centred perspective. It evaluates the conceptualisation of the targeting component of the subsidy scheme, and then continues to examine the implementation of the targeting mechanism by assessing, through analysis of primary research, the extent to which the programme reaches the intended beneficiaries.

The primary research includes four distinct but interrelated components:

- A representative survey of households with children to quantify eligibility and take-up of the housing programme;

- Interviews with relevant government officials, implementers and mediating agencies, to document the implementation of the programme at local level;

- Qualitative / semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries & non-beneficiaries, purposively selected from the survey sample;

- Focus groups with caregivers and youth.

Confining the primary research to specific sites (one urban and one rural) makes it possible to investigate the processes and effects of implementation from both the implementers' and beneficiaries' perspectives.

There appear to be a number of flaws in both the conceptualisation and implementation of the housing scheme. Ultimately I argue that a juxtapositioning of broad spatial and economic objectives on the one hand, and the duty to realise individual rights on the other, is a source of tension in the housing programme, leading to entitlement failures for children.

Contents

Introduction

The idea for this thesis arose from research conducted over a two-year period, and particularly a conversation I had with a small group of caregivers while doing research in the rural Eastern Cape, South Africa – in a village in the Amathole district called Krakrayo (pronounced "Ghaghayo"). One of the caregivers, a grandmother, was caring for five grandchildren, all under the age of 14, while her daughter (the children's mother) was living in Cape Town. The understanding between the grandmother and her daughter was that once the daughter had found work and a suitable place for the family to live, the children would move to Cape Town and stay with her. In the meantime, the daughter was sharing a shack belonging to acquaintances of the family from the same village. The grandmother spoke about why it was both infeasible and inappropriate for the children to join their mother in this "temporary" accommodation: first, it would be too much of an imposition on the host family, who were not relatives; second, there was not enough space for children in the small dwelling they occupied; third, the mother did not want her children to live in the informal settlement, which was dangerous; fourth, things were too uncertain – their mother needed to find a job and have some kind of secure tenure before undertaking the risk and expense of bringing the children to join her. The grandmother/caregiver's explanation suggested a series of strategic decisions which linked care arrangements with their housing situation. It was because the care arrangement was considered temporary that the mother had applied for and was claiming the children's child support grants in Cape Town (which is technically unlawful), using some of the money to support herself while she looked for work and sending the rest to her mother in the Eastern Cape to spend on the children's needs.

There were a number of other, somewhat ironic twists to the story. While the urban-based mother was in urgent need of a decent home in which to accommodate her children, it was the grandmother who had received a subsidy house, under the rural subsidy scheme. This enabled her to house the children in her original two-roomed mud-brick and thatch dwelling, while she herself slept in one half of the subsidy house (which she had divided with a three-quarter-high mud wall), using the other half as a kitchen and living area. She regarded this arrangement as a great sacrifice, since the "RDP" house was of much poorer quality than the dwelling she had built herself – she showed me where the windows were not properly fitted, where the wind whistled through the gap between the wall and the door, where the rain dripped through holes in the iron sheeting that served as ceiling and roof. Had her daughter been the recipient of a subsidised house in the city, the children could have been living with her, and the grandmother staying in her old home which she preferred because it was warm in winter and cool in summer – better for her health.

On my return to Cape Town, I continued with fieldwork in the informal settlement of Nkanini, part of the urban research site on the eastern edge of Khayelitsha. There, I encountered two young mothers, both with the same first name and, coincidentally, both from villages near to Krakrayo in the Eastern Cape. Although they had both lived in Nkanini for some months, and lived quite near to one another, they had not met each other before. There had been huge problems with crime – only the previous week a resident had been murdered while "using the bush" (for lack of toilets) – and an atmosphere of fear and distrust meant that people kept to themselves. One of the women had a baby with her, while the other's young child was living with her mother in the rural village "back home". She said that Nkanini was no place for a child to live. The story seemed to have come full circle.

At the time, our research could not shed any further light on the extent of situations like this, where mothers and their children were separated across the urban-rural divide, but in the context of rising adult female urban migration. Given what we know about the mobility of children, about shifting care arrangements and about the frequent absence of biological parents from children's everyday lives, it seemed possible that the housing subsidy had an important role to play in enabling children to access cities. Conversely, for children born in cities, access (or lack of access) to adequate housing may influence decisions about where they live and who they live with as they grow up. In a nutshell, although neither housing policy nor the housing discourse pay much attention to children, the conceptualisation and implementation of housing policy could have significant consequences for children, both in terms of their childhood experience and of their future prospects.

Children, an important group of rights-bearers, are at a distinct disadvantage because they are not in a position to actively claim their entitlements except where they receive benefits directly (as in the case of a school nutrition programme, for example). The housing subsidy scheme, although the main programme that enables poor people to realise their right of access to adequate housing, is targeted in a way that effectively limits the ability of rights-bearers to proactively claim their entitlements. The aim of the study is to examine the design and implementation of the housing subsidy scheme in order to evaluate how the targeting mechanism works, with reference to the rights of children.

The core question of the thesis, then, is: How do children, who are by definition dependent, realise their entitlement to adequate housing in South Africa? In order to begin answering this, a number of other questions are considered: How does the national housing subsidy scheme, the main programme to deliver housing to the poor, cater for children in its conceptualisation? Which children are effectively excluded – intentionally or unintentionally – from the housing subsidy? To what extent do children, who are not directly targeted by the housing subsidy scheme but technically fall into the "eligible" target group, actually benefit from the programme? What are

the enablers and obstacles to realising children's right to housing through the subsidy scheme? Why should children benefit (indirectly) from housing subsidies, and what are some possible consequences of failing to do so, in the context of urban migration and family separation?

In exploring these questions I start, in Chapter 1, by dealing with some conceptual issues, drawing on a range of literature related to human rights, poverty targeting, and child mobility in the context of changing care arrangements, HIV/AIDS and adult urban migration. Chapter 2 provides a brief outline of the housing policy and the housing subsidy scheme in South Africa, and points to some of the conceptual flaws in the housing targeting mechanism when evaluated from the perspective of children. Chapter 3 presents the primary research objectives, explains the need for primary research in this instance, and outlines the methodology. Chapter 4 contains a general description of the two primary research sites. Chapters 5 to 7 are dedicated to specific research questions about targeting: eligibility, uptake and targeting errors, consequences and barriers, from a children's perspective. Each chapter outlines the relevant analytic methods and findings. In Chapter 8 I discuss some of the housing outcomes and consequences for children and their households. The concluding chapter contains a synthesised discussion of the main findings, framing these within the South African housing policy framework and the broader discourse on targeted housing delivery to the poor, and makes an argument for more explicit consideration of children in the targeting of housing policy.

The focus of this thesis is biased towards the urban environment, while the rural component of the study questions the value of the rural housing subsidy as it has been implemented in the rural site, and sheds some light on issues of child mobility, separation from biological mothers, and family fragmentation, which may be attributed partly to the absence of children in the conceptualisation of housing policy.

I hope that this study may contribute to the housing and urban development discourse by introducing a "child-centred" perspective. Urban development is a cross-sectoral concern, requiring co-ordination of diverse and often fragmented sectors dealing with housing, land and service infrastructure, transport, energy and waste management, social amenities such as schools and public health services, as well as planning for living environments that are safe and of good quality – conducive, for instance, to the well-being and healthy development of children. Access to housing is central to all of this, because it provides a location for accessing the city and all that it may offer. For this reason I argue that it is important to consider children in the targeting of subsidised housing, and attempt to outline some possibilities for how children could be included conceptually.

Chapter 1 Concepts and frameworks

1.1 What has housing got to do with children?

"Many children's rights are rooted in the fundamental human right to decent, secure, affordable housing. Survival, health and optimal development are related to the quality of housing and its surroundings; access to livelihoods, schooling and other services are determined by its location; emotional security, family stability and even the quality of community relations are tied to security of tenure. But the urban poor struggle with housing – getting it, keeping it and coping with its inadequacies." (Innocenti Research Centre, 2002)

Targeted social protection and poverty alleviation strategies frequently single out particular categories of the population, such as elderly and disabled people, women and children, as "vulnerable" (see, for example, Office of the President, 2008). However, generic policies and programmes often fail to integrate these "vulnerable" sub-populations into their conceptualisation and implementation strategies (see, for example, Todes, Sithole, & Williamson, 2007). Categorical definitions may do little to assist in ensuring that more generic pro-poor policies consider the needs of defined "vulnerable" populations in the way they are targeted – the very process of singling out specific groups of people may serve to exclude, rather than include.

This is not to say that beneficiary populations should be treated generically. In the context of poverty alleviation I argue that housing is a central consideration and that a specific focus on children – not as a separate category, but as a significant part of the core target population – is necessary for a number of reasons. First, there is the basic fact that children constitute a large part of the population: in South Africa nearly 40% of the population consists of children (Statistics South Africa, 2008). To exclude children from the conceptualisation of a generic targeted housing programme is to conceptually exclude almost half of the population. Second, children are a specific category of rights bearers, whose needs and rights are prioritised in the Constitution and in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the most widely ratified international convention, to which South Africa is a signatory. These include the specific rights of children to shelter and to an adequate living environment – which are discussed below. Third, children tend to get "lost" in generic reporting on the socio-economic situation of the population, and there has been very little analysis of living environments from the perspective of children. Children across the world – particularly in developing countries – carry a disproportionate burden of poverty (UNICEF, 2006), and child-centred analyses have shown that this is the case in South Africa (Children's Institute, 2008), suggesting that children continue to carry the burden of a legacy of intergenerational poverty and structural inequality. Fourth,

children are not themselves a homogenous group and there is a need for a greater body of work that considers children's living environments while taking into account various differentials – age groups, care arrangements, physical context and so on. Fifth, children's activists argue that there is a particular urgency to addressing the needs of children because of their unique vulnerabilities and the transient nature of childhood. For instance, early health, nutrition and educational investments are essential for ensuring that children can grow up and realise their potential.

Thus, for children, "poverty is experienced as both material and developmental deprivation" (UNICEF, 2006). This is about the inherent value of children as human beings. Children also have instrumental value, as a future work force and parent generation, but the effects of deprivation on children may perpetuate cycles of poverty and deprivation (Moore, 2001). One of the explicit objectives of the housing programme is to provide poor households with an asset, which may in theory be used as collateral or enable households to "trade up", assuming that the value of the property can be realised and that low-income housing markets are functional. Home ownership should, in theory, provide secure tenure for children and enable inter-generational asset transfer – although existing research suggests that there are serious impediments to the application of children's inheritance rights (Rose, 2006).

Children are usually emphasised, at least nominally, in national policy documents as an important target group, but there is frequent disjuncture between the conceptualisation of children as a marginal or vulnerable group needing safety nets (the poverty alleviation approach), and children as a pivotal group instrumental to shifting the balance of poverty and inequality (i.e. children as role-players in poverty reduction). For instance, the draft discussion document: Towards an Anti-Poverty Strategy for South Africa (Office of the President, 2008) identifies investments in human capital development among children as a key part of the anti-poverty strategy and one of the most important factors in breaking [inter-]generational cycles of poverty. However, education goals cannot be achieved without considering the complex of relational factors that enable children to access schools and to learn effectively when they get there. Children are not merely recipients of education services; from a children's perspective, educational access and outcomes are linked to many "external" factors, including care arrangements and orphanhood (Ardington, 2008), disability and health, parental education and income, location, living environments and access to basic services (Department of Education, 2005; Weideman et al., 2007).

Nearly a quarter (24%) of households in South Africa are inadequately housed – either in informal settlements or occupying shacks in the backyards of other houses (Statistics South Africa, 2008; own analysis). Of the 18 million children in South Africa, 2.6 million live in informal housing. In addition, 3.1 million children live in what are termed "traditional" dwellings – where the quality of housing can range from

spacious and well insulated to extremely poor and crowded. As mentioned already, a child-centred analysis of national statistics shows that children are more likely than adults to suffer deprivation in their living environments. For instance, children are significantly more likely than adults to live on properties without a connection for drinking water (37% v. 27%) and without adequate sanitation facilities (41% v. 31%). (Statistics South Africa, 2008, own analysis)

Clean water and adequate sanitation are necessary for health. The under-5 mortality rate in South Africa is 95 per thousand (Bradshaw et al 2004, cited in Monson, Hall, Shung-King, & Smith, 2006:74). In other words, nearly one out of every ten children does not survive to their fifth birthday. The provision of basic services to households where children live could reduce diarrhoeal disease, respiratory infection and other illnesses associated with poor living conditions. These so-called "diseases of poverty" are the main cause of death in young children, after HIV/AIDS (Abrahams & Berry 2006).

Therefore, in addition to its intrinsic value as shelter and home, housing potentially has the greatest impact of all policies on children's well-being and development because of its *instrumental* role in enabling access to other goods and services. Housing not only provides a context for family co-residence and child care, but is inextricably linked to safety and security, access to municipal services, social infrastructure including schools and health services, and economic opportunity. The housing context determines the environment in which children grow up, and the facilities available to them. Moreover, home ownership has economic significance for households in that it theoretically provides some financial security and means of collateral, and enables intergenerational asset transfer. These assumptions themselves require some consideration, but if they are correct, then poor children who are inadequately housed stand to gain enormously from subsidised housing.

Strangely, the literature on children's experience of their living environments appears to be contained almost entirely within a specific child-centred discourse, while research focused on housing and the built environment tends to exclude children. There is also virtually no reference to children in South Africa's housing policy documents – children are simply implied in the general category of "dependants", which may also include disabled or elderly people. The absence of policy review and programme evaluation from the perspective of children suggests that children, as a category of beneficiaries, have tended to be overlooked by policy makers and commentators alike. Despite the National Programme of Action's "mainstreaming" strategy, which calls for each government department to "incorporate children's issues into their portfolios" and to "reflect its commitment to South African children, with corresponding budgetary allocation"(Republic of South Africa), it has been noted that "nowhere in the budget process are government's … socio-economic rights obligations to children in particular, explicitly taken into account and planned for."

(Creamer 2002, cited in Coetzee & Streak, 2004:73). The invisibility of children in housing policy is not unique to South Africa. As the COHRE Director pointed out in the foreword to an international publication on children's housing rights: "almost invariably, the majority of those who suffer the brunt of housing rights violations are children; their housing rights are too often neglected within international and national policy circles" (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2006:5). This is contrary to the provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which requires States Parties to "analyse how each housing policy decision is likely to affect children, to act consistently in ways that will be in their best interests, to allow them to participate in housing policy decisions that affect them, and to prevent and remedy violations of their housing rights by all appropriate means" (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2006:18).

1.2 Rights framework

The study is underpinned by a rights framework, where children's socio-economic rights provide a standard for evaluating the housing programme[1]. As well as assessing programme delivery in terms of its defined targets, the conceptualisation and mechanisms for programme targeting is assessed in relation to children's rights. This is in keeping with the constitutional principle that the best interests of the child should be considered in programmes relating to children, and by extension, in the conceptualisation of the targeting of programmes.

1.2.1 Indivisibility of rights

The rights of children are mutually reinforcing, inter-dependant and indivisible, in that the realisation of socio-economic rights enables people to enjoy other rights enshrined in the Constitution (De Vos, undated). Adequate housing/shelter, while important in its own right, may be seen as instrumental in establishing households within specific locations that in turn enable access to a range of services and social infrastructure that provide the basis for realising other rights. Conversely, an adequate environment, conducive to survival and development, is about more than housing or shelter. There are inherent connections, for example, between the right to housing and the rights to education, health, nutrition, water and recreation. If a residential area is far from schools, then it may be difficult for children – and particularly poor children – to access the institutions where they might realise their right to education. Similarly, children have a right of access to health care and to adequate water – services which are delivered to human settlements.

Richard Pithouse argues that a narrow focus on housing delivery obscures the "crisis of the post-apartheid city" – and that the idea of "the Right to the City", which emerged through popular struggles in France in the late 1960's, is a useful concept

[1] Parts of this section are drawn directly from my previous work – see Hall K (2005)

"that can help us to think outside of the technocratic logic of 'delivery'" (Pithouse, 2009). This concept has been taken up by popular movements in South America, and "the Right to the City" has been introduced through recent revisions to the constitutional text in Ecuador, signifying "above all else, the creation of a legal basis on which people can depend for support when demanding implementation of their [multiple] rights" (Acosta & Levenzon, 2008).

The principle of the indivisibility of rights, affirmed through jurisprudence, has a public administration parallel. There is no doubt that reaching those with the fewest resources, and in the most remote places, is a very difficult but essential task for the public administration. Numerous commentators have emphasised the importance of a coherent set of goods and services to realise children's rights, and the development of an integrated strategy for implementation and delivery (see, for example, Barrientos & DeJong, 2006; Coetzee & Streak, 2004; Leatt, Rosa, & Hall, 2005; Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2008).

In the last few years, South Africa has seen increasing (and deliberate) articulation between poverty alleviation programmes. Children whose caregivers receive social grants on their behalf, for example, are automatically exempt from school fees and should also have medical fees waived at all levels of the public health care system. The advantage of this integrated approach is that access to one benefit can lead to multiple inclusions; the downside is that exclusion from a "gateway" programme can result in multiple exclusions. It is therefore important to get the targeting right for the entry points or "enablers" – such as housing/location and social grants.

1.2.2 Housing as a socio-economic right [2]

The state is constitutionally bound to ensure that everyone has access to adequate housing. Section 26 of the Bill of Rights states that:

> (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
>
> (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.
>
> (3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions."

As with other general socio-economic rights, the constitutional right to housing is subject to certain limitations in that, while the state is obliged to "respect, protect, promote and fulfil" the right, it may be progressively (rather than immediately or comprehensively) realised, and the state is obliged only to take "reasonable" measures to provide access to housing, within the constraints of its available resources.

[2] Much of this rights analysis section is drawn directly from a previous paper of which I was sole author. See Hall 2005.

Besides the section 26 right of access to housing, the Bill of Rights refers separately to the specific rights of children, and in section 28(1)(c) provides:

> (1) Every child has the right…
>
> (c) to basic nutrition, *shelter*, basic health care services and social services.

There are three important distinctions between sections 26 (general rights) and 28 (children's rights):

- the right of children to basic shelter is not subject to the qualifications associated with the general right in section 28 – for instances, the section 28 right is not qualified by reference to "progressive realisation" and "available resources" ;
- the right of children is a direct right to shelter as opposed to the more general right of access to … housing;
- the right of children to basic shelter is an additional right, over and above their general right of access to adequate housing.

1.2.3 The weight of children's right to housing

A textual reading of the Constitution suggests that the rights of children and adults to housing carry different weight, with children being afforded a stronger right to housing by the Constitution and by international law. Although the principle of the "best interests of the child" is prioritised in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1989), as well as in the South African Constitution (s28[2]) and the new Children's Act, there are no housing policies or procedures which prioritise children, except insofar as children are indirect beneficiaries by virtue of their position within households[3].

Creamer (2002:22), in linking existing government programmes to the realisation of children's socio-economic rights, distinguishes those related to housing as follows:

Constitutional Right	Related Government Programmes
Everyone's right of access to adequate housing (s26)	Department of Housing's means-tested National Housing Subsidy programme
Children's right to shelter	Department of Social Development's various orphanages.

[3] There are a number of programmes to accommodate children who have experienced neglect, abuse or exploitation, or which provide shelter for those who have been removed from their homes. Child and Youth Care Centres fall mainly under the Department of Social Development (DSD), and include places of safety and children's homes. The DSD is also responsible for providing street child shelters and drop-in centres, as well as secure care facilities for children awaiting trial. The Education Department is responsible for schools of industry and some of the reform schools. These programmes, designed to provide accommodation, are targeted at children who are living without, or have been removed from, their families.

In this classification, the Department of Housing bears no responsibility for fulfilling children's right to shelter, and it is assumed that if children do not have shelter, then they are automatically orphans, or in need of protection from abuse and neglect, or for some other reason should be accommodated in state institutions. This goes counter to the argument, outlined in the Grootboom judgement, that poor parents may be unable to provide even for children's basic rights, in which case the State has a positive obligation to do so (De Vos, undated).

A child's right to housing is framed within the context of the family or household structure. Both the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) and the CRC place a responsibility on parents or caregivers to implement children's right to an adequate standard of living, and on the state to "take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child" and where necessary to provide material assistance and support programmes, "particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing" (Article 27(4)). The South African Constitution upholds the right of children to parental care, or to appropriate care when removed from the family environment. Since the family environment is defined as the normal (and ideal) place for children, it may be argued that the child's right to shelter is extended to the household too, or that delivery of housing should be prioritised for families with children.

Judge Davis, in the Cape High Court decision on the Grootboom case, found that children's right to shelter entitled children "to an immediate and direct claim against the state to provide services and meet their need for shelter" and that, based on the principle of the best interests of the child, "parents enjoyed a derivative right to be accommodated with their children in the aforesaid shelter" (Coetzee & Streak, 2004:65).

The Constitutional Court ruled differently, holding that the primary obligation to provide shelter for children rested with their parents, and not with the state. This apparently conservative decision has been widely disputed. Liebenburg (cited in Creamer, 2002:5) infers the judgement to mean that children have a direct claim against the state only when they are removed from the family environment or do not have guardians who can provide for them. A wider interpretation is offered by Geoff Budlender, who interprets the Grootboom judgement not as a distinction "between children *within* or *removed* from family environment," [own emphasis] but as distinguishing "between children who have parents who are able to provide their basic needs and those who do not" (see Coetzee & Streak, 2004:66; Creamer, 2002:7). In this argument, the state is obliged to provide for the basic socio-economic needs of children who are removed from (or have lost) their parents *as well as* for children living in indigent households where parents are unable to meet their constitutional obligations. This wider interpretation was reinforced in the 2002 Treatment Action Campaign judgement, where it was found that –

> "The state is obliged to ensure that children are accorded the protection complemented by section 28 that arises when the implementation of the right to parental or family care is lacking. Here we are concerned with children born in public hospitals and clinics to mothers who are for the most part indigent and unable to gain access to private medical treatment which is beyond their means. They and their children are in the main dependent upon the state to make health care services available to them."[4]

The TAC judgement is groundbreaking in that it departs from the narrow decision in the Grootboom case and places a clear responsibility on the state to realise children's socio-economic rights not only when they are removed from parental care, but also when they live in very poor indigent families. The implication of this in a housing context is that the state *does* have an absolute and immediate responsibility to realise children's right to shelter when their parents, for reasons of poverty, are unable to do so. However, commentators suggest that it is unclear whether courts would be willing to apply this precedent in the context of housing given the enormous programmatic and budgetary implications associated with such policy change, and the fact that (contrary to the administration of nevirapine) in the housing context "there would generally be a range of reasonable policy options available to fulfil any particular objective." (Urban Sector Network, 2003:18).

1.2.4 The "right to housing" versus "access to housing"

Inconsistent reference to the extent of the respective rights of children and the general public suggest different strengths of entitlement. "Every child has a right to… shelter"[5], while "Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing"[6]. Although the distinction has not yet been tested through judicial process, Paula Proudlock suggests that the words "right to" shelter in 28(1)(c) may impose stronger obligations on the state than the "right to have access to" housing in the general socio-economic rights (Proudlock, 2002). While the former implies immediate provision of shelter, the latter suggests mechanisms to promote access – a facilitative approach which is more in keeping with the requirement to make housing available on a progressive basis.

Within the South African housing sector, the *progressive* realisation of the right of *access* to housing has been interpreted in a number of ways.

Initially, with the drive to deliver housing at scale, the emphasis was on delivering houses to increasing numbers of beneficiaries. Here, "progressive" delivery was measured numerically, by the number of subsidies approved, units constructed and beneficiaries taking transfer of properties, as the State made progressive inroads into the housing backlog. However, this approach had severe shortcomings, including substandard housing units, little attention to the creation of viable communities, and

[4] Treatment Action Campaign 2002 [79]
[5] Constitution of SA 1996 Article 28(1)
[6] Constitution of SA 1996 Article 26(1)

inadequate mechanisms to involve beneficiaries in the process. This is contrary to the principle of "people-centered development and partnerships" and the "facilitative" role of government, contained in the National Housing Code. Similarly, the Habitat Agenda and Agenda 21 emphasise the importance of an enabling approach to housing development, which "imposes on the State … the creation of sufficient space within processes and procedures for the poor to deliver their own housing through self-help processes" (cited in Urban Sector Network, 2003).

More participatory strategies were introduced to promote access to adequate housing by the poor – notably through the People's Housing Process – where beneficiaries participate in the planning and development of housing projects, in theory improving the quality and value of the housing product.

1.2.5 The nature of the accommodation

Housing policy refers variously to "housing" and "shelter" and "home" as the object of the right. While everyone has a constitutional right to "adequate housing" (including all the attributes and specifications defined under "adequate", which are outlined below), children have, in addition, a direct right to "shelter" under the Constitution. These may be interpreted as distinct concepts – particularly when considered in the light of other socio-economic entitlements contained in s28(1) of the Constitution, where children are also guaranteed "basic" nutrition and "basic" health care as unqualified rights. It has been argued that children's socio-economic rights cannot be presumed to be basic rights except where expressly defined as basic in the wording of the Constitution (Coetzee & Streak, 2004:77). Although the prefix "basic" is not used directly in relation to shelter and social services, the specific use of the term "shelter" (as opposed to "housing", which is used elsewhere) can be interpreted as implying a minimum core entitlement. However, the nature of the "shelter" guaranteed to children is not defined in any of the housing policy in terms of minimum standards, as is the "adequate housing" to which the general population is entitled. Thus, although children have a stronger right, it may be to an (undefined) inferior form of housing.

South Africa is bound by international law, which provides slightly more clarity on the quality of accommodation to which children are entitled. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ratified by South Africa, recognises in Article 27 the right of the child to "a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development." This is echoed in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), also ratified by South Africa. However, the question remains: what kind of shelter is sufficient to provide children with an environment in which they may develop physically, mentally, spiritually, morally and socially?

Although there is no minimum standard for "shelter", the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) defined a minimum standard for "all housing" (as opposed to "adequate housing"), so it is possible that this standard describes the core entitlement:

> As a minimum, all housing must provide protection from weather, a durable structure, and reasonable living space and privacy. A house must include sanitary facilities, storm-water drainage, a household energy supply... and convenient access to clean water (Republic of South Africa, 1994: s2.5.7).

Arguably, most households have some kind of shelter, even of a most rudimentary kind. In the absence of reliable national statistics on homelessness[7], it is impossible for government programmes or evaluators to determine the extent of the basic need for shelter or to effectively target homeless people. However, it is likely that children's right to shelter does not simply refer to homelessness, but also to children in substandard living conditions.

The distinction between "shelter" and "adequate housing" in the South African Constitution is of interest because of the different qualities of housing they imply. While shelter has been described by some as being the part of a "minimum core", in other words, a basic form of housing sufficient for survival, the meaning of "adequate housing" is outlined in a number of policy documents, including the Housing White Paper, the RDP and the National Housing Code.

The RDP, which first outlined the new government's policy undertakings, endorsed the right of every South African to live in peace and dignity in a secure place, and placed the ultimate responsibility on the democratic government for ensuring that housing is provided to all. The 1994 Housing White Paper further outlined the "adequate housing" standard as follows:

> "Housing is defined as a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments are created for viable households and communities. This recognises that the environment within which a house is situated is as important as the house itself in satisfying the needs and requirements of the occupants. Government strives for the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities and well as health, education and social amenities, within which all South Africa's people will have access to:
>
> - a permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements;
> - potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply."

[7] At the time of the 1996 Census, 2 470 households (out of 9 million nationally) were classified as "homeless", and a further 17 000 were living in a category of shelter defined as "caravan/tent". Over 92 000 households were recorded as living in "unspecified" accommodation. In 2001, just 1011 households (out of over 11 million) were recorded as being "homeless". The under-count of "homelessness" is acknowledged by Statistics South Africa: "the figures for homeless households are extremely low for both censuses – this is probably due to the difficulty we had with regards to counting the homeless." [K Parry, Statistics South Africa – email correspondence]

The main features of "adequate" housing envisaged for South Africa therefore include:

- housing as a "process", rather than a product
- the establishment of "viable" communities
- good location – access to economic opportunities
- access to public amenities (health, education, etc.)
- a finished housing product (formal top-structure)
- security of tenure (which, particularly in the context of the national housing subsidy scheme, has mainly taken the form of ownership)
- provision of basic services

Chapter 2 of the National Housing Code similarly defines "adequate" as being "measured by legal security of tenure, the availability of services; materials, facilities and infrastructure; affordability; habitability; accessibility; location; and cultural adequacy". In other words, adequate housing is not just about the quality of shelter, but about a range of qualitative aspects related to housing, including the provision of services, location and access to facilities, and secure tenure (with a range of tenure and housing options). All of this should theoretically be within the reach of even the poorest households.

In South Africa, the right of access to adequate housing is modelled on the right to housing in Article 11 (1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which provides that the State has a duty to recognise the right of everyone to adequate housing.

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CECSR), in a general comment, identified seven key elements which need to be assessed to measure whether housing is "adequate":

1) Security of tenure (through protection of property rights and an assurance that families cannot lose their homes except through legal process)

2) Access to services (including access to safe water, sanitation, safe energy sources and refuse removal)

3) Affordability (which implies a range of appropriate tenure options, as well as the provision of subsidies, appropriate financial products and the regulation of rentals)

4) Habitability (houses should have enough space to prevent overcrowding and be built in a way that ensures they are physically safe, secure, and offer protection against the elements)

5) Accessibility (housing should be accessible to all people and this means that housing policies, laws and programmes must make special provision for vulnerable groups such as the very poor, including the homeless, people with disabilities, people living with HIV, women, children and old people)

6) Location (residential areas should be situated in areas close to work opportunities, clinics, police stations, schools and child-care facilities)

7) Culturally adequate (houses should reflect people's cultural identity. If the State builds houses that are not culturally appropriate, it can distort family structure and child-caring practices, which can have a negative effect on children). (Proudlock & Hall in Children's Institute, 2008)

The Department of Housing's relatively recent over-arching policy document, "Breaking New Ground" (2004), emphasises the promotion of sustainable human settlements (as opposed to simply 'housing') – and makes an explicit commitment to housing projects and developments that are socially inclusive and integrated. This is conceived of as a central pillar of an integrated poverty alleviation strategy for South Africa (Office of the President, 2008).

1.3 Poverty framework

If we understand poverty to be multidimensional in nature (see Noble, Wright, & Cluver, 2007), then the housing context is key to many dimensions of poverty (and poverty alleviation). This is because, as described above, housing is linked to location, which in turn influences the extent to which a range of other needs and rights can be met (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2006; Child-Friendly Cities, 1996; Innocenti Research Centre, 2002). Housing policy in South Africa was initially explicitly linked to accommodation and asset creation, but later revisions to policy goals (articulated in "Breaking New Ground" a framework for the development of sustainable human settlements) expanded the envisaged contribution of housing to a broader poverty alleviation framework in which sustainable human settlements are described as:

> "well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity" (Department of Housing, 2004b).

The type of settlement determines the ease and efficiency with which other services can be delivered. For instance, it is easier and more cost-effective for municipalities to

develop bulk infrastructure and provide basic services to areas where the population density is high and the plots are formally demarcated than to scattered rural populations or informal settlements. Living conditions, including housing, sanitation and access to drinking water, have a direct impact on health status (see, for example, Jack, undated; May et al., 1998; Meyers et al., 2005).

Location influences access to employment opportunities and income, which in turn is associated with better educational and health outcomes for children (May et al., 1998:6) – and the importance of situating housing development projects on well-located land is acknowledged in the housing policy.

The systematic production of poverty and inequality through Apartheid policies left generations of black children amongst the most marginalised. Physically relegated to rural areas or the peripheries of towns, with poor services, minimal education and few opportunities for employment or further training, generations of children have grown up to become adults whose children were born into the cycle of poverty. It is for this reason – the intergenerational transmission of poverty – that human capital investments in children are explicitly prioritised in the recent draft integrated poverty alleviation strategy (Office of the President, 2008).

Children are disproportionately represented amongst the poor, and this is partly the result of spatial arrangements – the persistent legacy of a racist regime that controlled population movement. For decades, influx control and the pass laws served to contain the urban black population to the size of the required labour pool, while "homelands" were home to the residue – the "surplus people" who were not considered economically useful – particularly women, children and those too old to work (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999; May et al., 1998; Posel & Casale, 2003). The ex-homeland areas remain the poorest and most under-resourced parts of the country, and remain home to more than half of South Africa's children as well as many of the elderly, the unemployed and the income-poor.

Pro-poor policy (also called "anti-poverty") in South Africa has two main thrusts: poverty *alleviation* and poverty *reduction* (or even eradication). In other words, policies have the dual task of mitigating the effects of poverty for those who are poor in order to ensure their survival and a minimum standard of living (for instance through social grants, the majority of which go to children, and which were recently mooted for the unemployed), while at the same time trying to shift the balance of poverty and inequality (for instance, through spatial planning, the development of sustainable human settlements and employment creation).

Child poverty is multi-dimensional, widespread and deep. A legacy of discriminatory policies and strategic underdevelopment, poverty is transmitted down generations and deepened by HIV/AIDS. While income poverty is not necessarily the most

appropriate – and by no means the only – indicator of child well-being, unemployment is undoubtedly the biggest single determinant of the depth of child poverty on any dimension. Having an adult with a job in the household not only brings essential income, but is important because of the stability and security that wage employment brings.

In child-centred analyses, adult unemployment is associated with income poverty and child hunger (Budlender analysis in Leatt, 2006). The official unemployment rate was 25% in 2006 (Office of the President, 2007) yet this definition is of little use when considering children's access to stable household income. In the same year, 40% of all children – over seven million – lived in households where no adult was employed (Statistics South Africa, 2008, own analysis).

The interaction between poverty, employment, housing and child well-being is highly nuanced. Children in South Africa tend to be highly mobile, often moving between rural and urban areas. The pattern of age distribution across rural and urban areas shows a drop in the urban child population after the age of two years, suggesting that many children born in cities are sent to rural areas while their parents remain in the cities. Proportionately fewer children than adults live in informal settlements, while more children live in "traditional" housing. (Statistics South Africa, 2008, own analysis).

1.4 Targeting poverty alleviation

1.4.1 Principles of targeting

This research is ostensibly about a targeted response to poverty in one of its dimensions: inadequate housing. All non-universal interventions that aim to assist the poor need to define "poverty". Targeting can be seen as a deliberate process of inclusion (and exclusion), which requires a definition of those who are regarded as in need of the benefit. It is usually premised on the idea that there are limited resources, and that these should be directed to those who are most in need, or who are in some other way deserving. Targeting is therefore about cost effectiveness through the efficient and appropriate allocation of resources. This in turn seems to imply that targeting is scientific, that it can be based on empirical evidence which quantifies resources on the one hand, and determines "need" on the other – so that it is possible to strike a balance between the two.

However targeting is hardly an exact science. Many factors can influence targeting decisions, including rights frameworks and obligations, political context, economic policy, agendas of international funding agencies, social norms and ideologies. In this vein, Mkandawire (2005:1) argues that "although in current parlance, the choice between 'targeting' and 'universalism' is couched in the language of efficient allocation of resources subject to budget constraints and the exigencies of

globalization, what is actually at stake is the fundamental question about a polity's values and its responsibilities to all its members."

In the case of housing subsidies – unlike free education or social grants, for instance – there is little debate around the need for targeted, as opposed to universal, benefits. The question here is how housing subsidies are targeted, and to what extent children, who have the same entitlement as adults, are effectively included in the targeting mechanism.

Targeting is a method for ensuring that the programme reaches the identified target population and excludes those who are not part of the target population. Targeting mechanisms are never foolproof, and two main types of error may be expected to occur: errors of exclusion, (also referred to as "type I" errors) occur when people within the target group are unable to access the programme. Errors of inclusion (or "type II" errors) occur when people who are not targeted by the programme access the benefit (Coady, Grosh, & Hoddinott, 2003; Mkandawire, 2005).

1.4.2 Targeting methods

Multiple methods of targeting are used in South African poverty alleviation programmes. Social grants use a combination of categorical targeting (eg. age criteria and, until recently, housing or settlement type) and a means test. Public education uses both a provincial geographic targeting mechanism (to determine provincial allocations) and community-based targeting (to determine school quintiles) – as well as a complicated means test to determine eligibility for fee exemptions in fee-charging schools. In both the education and health sectors, self-selection plays a role in institutional access to public or private health services. Primary health care in the public health service is universally free, while health fee waivers at secondary and tertiary levels are targeted categorically (for instance to young children and pregnant women) and through a means test. More recently, in an effort to create a more comprehensive approach to poverty targeting, access to social grants has been included as a proxy means test for free education and health services. The targeting mechanism for free or subsidised municipal services uses a range of approaches, varying across provinces and municipalities. These include service level tariffs on a sliding scale, where consumption is effectively a proxy for determining wealth (so that, for instance, the more water a household uses, the more they pay) and this is used to offset a free basic amount for poor (or low consumption) households. Other mechanisms include flow restrictors on water, which are a form of self selection (albeit at the risk of undermining the constitutional right to adequate water), and an indigents' policy which is either targeted to communities (for instance, where individual house connections are non-existent) or to individual households through a means test. (Finance and Fiscal Commission, 2004; Hall, Leatt, & Rosa, Forthcoming)

The housing subsidy scheme, too, is a targeted programme, in that only households that are poor and comply with certain other criteria, may receive the subsidy. In the context of low-cost housing delivery, targeting generally involves three main tiers or levels of assessment: first, geographic targeting (through assessment of the relative housing need across provinces), which informs the provincial budget allocations through the conditional grant; second, the identification of communities or sites for housing development within provinces and municipalities; and third, the screening of individual households within those areas or projects. The tiered approach, incorporating both geographic (provincial and sub-provincial) and individual (or household) level targeting means that rights-bearers are not always able to claim their entitlement.

1.4.3 Evaluating targeted programmes

The existing South African literature on targeting tends to focus either on the outcomes or impact of targeted programmes (eg. on poverty, livelihoods, wellbeing) or on the design, efficacy and cost-effectiveness of targeting (generally from a funder/implementer perspective). There appears to have been little or no research in South Africa which assesses the design and implementation of *targeting mechanisms* specifically, and this was part of the rationale for establishing the Means to Live research project. The Finance and Fiscal Commission has pointed to the need for a research agenda which focuses on the evaluation of targeted programmes, proposing two methods: first, to "measure the percentage coverage of the target groups for each constitutionally mandated basic service… and second, to measure the incidence of the benefits on the poorest segments of the population – that is, the proportion of the benefits of basic service programmes accruing to, say, the poorest 40 percent of the population" (Finance and Fiscal Commission, 2004:86). There is considerable international (and some local) literature on targeting and uptake in certain types of poverty alleviation programmes – notably, social grants – but very little in relation to housing subsidies. Constraints to quantifying eligibility and uptake of subsidised housing are largely related to the type of data needed. This is discussed in more detail in section 3.2 below.

There are two levels at which one can evaluate the targeting of poverty alleviation programmes, since errors of inclusion and exclusion may occur at the level of policy or of practice. First, to be effective, poverty alleviation targeting must be appropriately conceptualised. Second, policy must be accurately translated into programmes that are correctly implemented and comply with principles of administrative justice. These levels of analysis were clearly articulated in the "reasonableness" test outlined in the Grootboom judgement (De Vos, undated), and were used to inform the design of the primary research, which identified errors of inclusion and exclusion – from a children's perspective.

1.5 Entitlements and entitlement failures

When discussing the causes of exclusion, I am mindful of what Amartya Sen (1999) describes as entitlement failures, or the inability to acquire the benefit. Programmes may be designed to alleviate poverty through financial assistance or the provision of material goods (such as housing), but to what extent do those who are targeted have the resources and commodities required to access the programmes designed to alleviate their poverty? While entitlements are given effect through policies and programmes, do the target population have the capabilities or "substantive freedoms" to harness these programmes in order to bring about a change in their situation? How does poverty affect people's ability to negotiate their entitlements?

Rights-bearers are not automatically beneficiaries of their entitlements. Rather, they need to be proactive in claiming their entitlements. So how are entitlements claimed? In the case of children's rights, children cannot generally be expected to claim their rights or apply for benefits. Because of their position as minors and dependants, children do not have the same "freedoms" that adults have. In a few instances where services and benefits are targeted to the child, children can "claim" them directly (for instance, by choosing to receive food at school). More usually, adult intermediaries claim benefits on behalf of children (as, for instance, in the case of child support grants). Another method of targeting is to household level: subsidised housing and free basic services are examples of programmes that are targeted to the household, with the assumption that all individuals within the household will benefit. The housing subsidy scheme does not target children directly, but includes children in the target population if they live in eligible households. It is an example of a poverty alleviation strategy that directly affects children but is ostensibly "channelled through and for adults" (Feeny & Boyden, 2003:1). While children, as a category of dependants, form part of the eligibility requirement, the implicit assumption is that *children live in households where there are adults who can claim the entitlement*.

In evaluating the targeting mechanism of the housing subsidy scheme from a children's perspective, I consider this assumption by exploring issues of household composition and family separation, as well as drawing on primary research that investigates the ability of adults who care for children to claim the entitlement.

In the context of extreme deprivation, it may be unrealistic to expect poor parents/caregivers either to fulfil the socio-economic rights to which their children are entitled, or to be in a position to claim entitlements on behalf of themselves and their children. As discussed later, there are a number of layers or levels in the way subsidised housing is targeted, and individual (or household) targeting of the housing subsidy scheme tends to be superseded by community or geographic targeting – which in turn implies the need for collective action or agency. Here again, poverty and power (or agency) are interlinked, with the likelihood that "those with little power

are less able to choose and shape the institutions within, and through which, they live" (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002:20-21).

Thus "there is a need for the state to *reach out* towards potential beneficiaries" (Coetzee & Streak, 2004:61). In discussing targeted programmes, it seems appropriate, then, to distinguish between *targeting* (which is prescriptive, and where the state is, or should be, proactive) and *claiming* (which is about agency, and relates to freedoms or "capabilities" and desires). The targeting mechanism, ideally, should allow for a meeting of the two.

The conceptual framework for the research included a "reasonableness" test, derived from that outlined in the Grootboom judgement: At the level of conceptualisation, the target population should be explicitly defined, and should be inclusive of those most in need. The targeting mechanism itself should be clearly defined and easily determinable or observable, and it should be possible to reach a large proportion of the target population, while not creating perverse incentives. At the level of implementation, the mechanism should be clear and easy for applicants and officials to handle. Eligibility criteria should be difficult to manipulate and not open to subjective interpretation or discretion, and there should be sufficient administrative capacity to deliver the benefit at scale (Leatt et al., 2005).

It also is important to understand and describe the consequences of targeting mechanisms in the context of people's livelihoods, particularly where access to a poverty relief programme requires the agency of those who are targeted. The research therefore seeks to understand – albeit rather superficially – the costs and benefits, the choices and trade-offs that people make when trying to claim the subsidy, or opting not to do so.

1.6 Children, families and migration

A final leg to the conceptual framework is that of child mobility in the context of urban migration. Housing policy in South Africa has historically (and deliberately) been used to influence the spatial configuration of families. The implementation of racially discriminatory controls on population movement was also associated with gender and generational inequality. The availability of suitable and affordable housing, particularly in cities, may be an important mechanism for reducing these inequalities and for enabling the urbanisation of children.

While there is a fairly large general discourse on internal migration, there is relatively little analysis of child migration and its effects on children's quality of life, household arrangements, or on the capacity of cities to cater for in-migration of children through the provision of infrastructure and amenities (Kok, O'Donovan, Boure, & van Zyl, 2003; Richter, Norris, Swart, & Ginsburg, 2006).

1.6.1 Extent and direction of migration – models

An analysis of the 1996 Population Census suggests that around three quarters of all internal migration nationally is to metropolitan areas (Kok et al., 2003:35), although it is important to remember that migration is not necessarily one-directional or permanent. In fact much population movement has historically taken the form of circulatory migration, since colonial and apartheid labour policies and influx controls effectively discouraged permanent urban migration (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999; Posel & Casale, 2003).

Kok et al (2003) outline a typology of South African migration based on both spatial and temporal mobility elements, encompassing circulation as well as more permanent migration. The main categories are conceptualised in relation to adult mobility, and linked to labour migration: "short-term labour migration", "long-term labour migration" and "permanent migration" (Kok et al., 2003). The analytical possibilities for testing this model are limited by poor variables related to migration in the national household survey data, but an analysis of the Agincourt panel data identified about two thirds of migratory moves as "temporary" (Collinson, Kok, & Garenne, 2006).

The model includes the idea of "oscillating migration", previously described by Spiegel et al (1996) to refer to mobility between urban and rural nodes. Oscillating or circular migration continues to be a feature of population movement despite the absence of apartheid-style restrictions on movement (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999; Posel, 2003).

While there has always been a two-way flow between rural and metropolitan areas within provinces, the net in-migration at a sub-provincial level is to the smaller towns, which are destinations for those moving from rural areas as well as those returning from large cities (Collinson et al., 2006). This suggests a need for greater attention to social and service infrastructure development and local government capacity building in small towns as well as in metropolitan areas. Although metropolitan areas are home to the greatest quantity of urban poor in absolute numbers, "the [urban] poverty burden [measured by the income poverty rate] is most severe in South Africa's small towns and secondary cities" (May et al., 1998:33).

At a national level, of course, the main population growth is in metropolitan areas – both as a result of in-migration and of natural population growth. While the direction of migration is towards urban and metropolitan areas, this does not mean that rural areas are becoming depopulated unless migration is permanent:

> There are strong links between many of the metropolis-bound migrants and their homes in the rural area. Thus, if everybody was at their main home at the time of the census the metropolisation would not look so extreme. Furthermore the removal of the migrant from the rural area does not necessarily change the ratio between households in rural areas and households in urban areas. (Collinson et al., 2006)

While South African cities share many characteristics with Latin American cities, and the local housing subsidy scheme was strongly influenced by the Latin American (and particularly Chilean) model, Gilbert and Crankshaw (1999) point to some important differences in migration patterns across the two regions, through an analysis of migration and housing mobility in Soweto. First, while migration to Latin American cities tended to be permanent, much of the population movement in South Africa has been temporary or circular, with migrants retaining a rural "home" – thus kinship ties and emotional attachment to the rural home remains strong. This leads to the next point, which is that there may be less ability or incentive for South African urban migrants to invest in improving their housing situation – because remittances to remote dependants reduce the surplus to invest in urban housing, or because the intention to retire to the rural home makes that the more attractive investment prospect. Thus, while early migrants or "bridgeheaders" (in the terminology of Turner's model, cited by Gilbert and Crankshaw) in Latin America tended to consolidate and improve their urban housing situation through "self-help", many urban migrants in the Soweto study failed to do so. This is also related to a lack of alternatives in housing stock and tenure options in South African cities. While the main site of in-migration in Latin American cities was to the inner city, in South Africa it was largely to the periphery, placing migrants far from work opportunities and other resources. Despite these differences, there appears to be a gradual convergence in migration patterns in South Africa and Latin America. For instance, there are indications that the temporary nature of South African urban migration is changing towards permanence, due partly to post-apartheid lapsing of controls and changing labour policy, and to the absence of economic opportunities in rural areas (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999).

1.6.2 Social networks and informality as mechanisms of migration

Urban migration is enabled by the existence of migrant networks, where knowing a person at the destination is an important mechanism. Connections of people over space lead to a self-feeding process, so that migration develops its own momentum, or "cumulative causation" (Kok 2003, Starke & Levhari 1982, Curran & Saguy 2001, Massey 2000, cited in Collinson et al., 2006). Thus "the propensity to migrate grows over time through expansion and intensification of the migrant network" (Zelinski 1971, cited in Collinson et al., 2006). This network is described as essential for securing accommodation and accessing land. A study of land markets in three South African cities concluded that the dominance of social relations as a mechanism for informal land access was so great that "the normal policy tools the state has at its disposal for intervening in markets are neither useful nor applicable" (Marx, 2007). Illegal occupation of peri-urban land is related to a shortage of affordable housing within the confines of the city, and the growth of these settlements is enabled by

"social catalysts" which have to do with "specific relationships of ownership and control over vacant land" (Beall et al., 2002:132).

With continued shortages of housing stock, informal accommodation remains an important option for people moving to cities. The main forms of informality are shack settlements on demarcated or undemarcated land, and backyard shacks on existing properties. Prior to 1990, the main form of initial tenure for new migrants to Soweto was rented or shared accommodation on formal properties. By 1990, 60% of township properties in Gauteng's townships had backyard dwellings (Lemanski, 2009:474). More recently, with the lifting of controls on land occupation, the pattern has changed, with more migrants moving straight to informal accommodation in settlements, as well as to backyards (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999; Lemanski, 2009). In 1994, there were more backyard shacks than houses on properties in Cape Town's townships (Lemanski, 2009) and by the late 1990's 30% of all Sowetans were housed in backyard accommodation (Beall et al, 2000 & 2003, cited in Lemanski, 2009). An advantage of backyard housing over informal settlements is that it often enables better access to services and resources, and is better located, with less threat of eviction.

Lemanski argues that backyard housing, a "uniquely South African phenomenon", tends to be overlooked in policy responses because relatively little is known about it, and it tends to be overshadowed by an emphasis on the problem of "slums" in local and international discourse (for instance, the MDGs refer only to an improvement in the living conditions of slum dwellers). Although the Department of Housing's "Breaking New Ground" document does acknowledge backyard housing as an "important component of the overall private rental sector" (DoH 2004, cited in Lemanski, 2009:475) there is no explicit policy focus on this form of housing, and home ownership continues to be promoted as the main form of tenure for the low income housing market. The baseline survey for a Western Cape study on backyards, described by Lemanski, counted backyards in Westlake and enumerated the adults living in them, but neglected to count children. In South Africa 650 000 children live in backyard shacks, half of them under the age of seven (own calculations based on the General Household Survey 2007).

Informal settlements are important transitional spaces in the context of urban migration, and informal tenure is a mechanism and necessary process of land acquisition. Informal housing is therefore an important point of access to the city for people who cannot obtain their own land through formal processes (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999; Lemanski, 2009; Marx, 2007). Informal settlements are also a route through which young people claim independence – thus one of the main reasons for moving to informal settlements is "getting older" (Marx 2007). Both of these motivators – initial land access and a move towards independence – imply transition. Although children, once again, do not feature in the discussions, it is clear that children are very present. An analysis of household structure in the three informal

settlements surveyed in a recent Urban LandMark study showed that, although there were more single-adult households in informal settlements than in other housing types, nuclear families and single parent households predominated (Marx, 2007).

1.6.3 Child migration and mobility

The main references to child migration and its implications for urban planning are to be found in the child-focused "child-friendly cities" discourse, where "the call for child-friendly cities is rooted in the recognition that cities are home to an increasing proportion of the world's children" (Riggio 2002). However, children do not appear to enter into the general migration typologies, except as residual or absent dependant family members. For instance, in the Soweto study, it was found that over half of urban migrants had "some of their dependent children living at [their rural] 'home'" (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999:2380). The obvious corollary is that many rural children are dependent on an absent parent living in the city. It certainly cannot be assumed that children's migration patterns follow that of adults. Rather, children "participate in migration, both independently, as well as with their parents and caregivers as households relocate" (Richter et al., 2006:197).

Neither have women's migration patterns historically followed that of men. Only recently has there been a narrowing of the (adult) gender differential in migration patterns (Casale & Posel, 2006:12). While urban migration was historically driven by male migrants, a gender analysis from October Household Surveys during the 1990's showed that a net increase in migration from rural areas during the 1990's was actually the result of a rise in adult female migration – who by 2000 made up 34% of the urban migrant population (Posel & Casale, 2003:5).

At a sub-provincial level, the findings of a Stats SA study were that women aged 15-25 years were the most mobile group, with the most important categories being 1) young women moving alone (whether or not they are mothers); 2) women moving with children; and 3) women with men and children (Collinson et al., 2006). Since children are potentially involved in all three of the most mobile categories we can assume that children are also part of the migrant labour movement – whether they move or are "left behind".

In many cases, children are likely to be in the latter category. An analysis of internal migration to the Gauteng Province, using Census 2001 and Labour Force Survey data, found striking differences in the proportion of children (under the official "working age" of 15) when comparing the population of Gauteng residents born in the province with those born outside Gauteng. Amongst Gauteng-born residents, 66% of the population consisted of working age adults, and nearly a third (31%) were children

aged 0-14 years[8]. However, an age breakdown of in-migrants (Gauteng residents who were born elsewhere in South Africa) found that 82% of the in-migrant population was working-age adults (15-64 years) while only 14% were children under 15 years (Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2004:11).

There appears to be an absence of quantitative analysis on internal migration that explores the mechanisms that drive migration, and of empirical research on "family" urban migration from a children's perspective, in particular to understand the extent to which this takes place in a phased manner, with generations migrating at different times. This is partly due to the construction of national household surveys such as those undertaken by Statistics South Africa, which are cross-sectional and where the definition of household includes only people who are physically residing in the household at the time of the survey, excluding linked members who are not present. The newly-established National Income Dynamics Study, designed as a longitudinal panel survey, will be a useful resource for studying child mobility over time. At present, however, only the first wave has been completed.

Data from the Agincourt surveillance site, another panel study, indicated an increase in temporary child migration (mostly to Gauteng), calculated at 7% in 2003 – up from less than 1% in 1992. This occurred for both sexes, and appeared to be related to schooling choices (Collinson et al., 2006).

The existence of single-parent households is important for considering the targeting of housing subsidies, since the eligibility criteria require that applicants should be married (or living together in permanent partnerships) and/or have dependants living with them. Since the early 1990s there have been changes in household composition in the migrant labour force. While female labour migration increased, there was a simultaneous decline in marital rates, as well as women's co-residence with men. Maintaining their single status may be a strategic decision for women if it enables them to be more independent, to migrate and look for work – "if men restrict the mobility of women, then we would expect that women are more likely to migrate if they are not married and do not live with men – not only because there may be a greater need for women to look for work but also because women have more freedom to move" (Posel & Casale, 2003:7). A regression analysis on female labour migration from rural areas suggests that women's relationships to men are significant in affecting the probability of female migration to places of employment. What is also shown in the regression analysis (but not commented on by the authors) is that having a young child (aged six or under) reduces the probability of female migration, while having a school-age child (7-14 years) increases the probability.

[8] The standard age bands used by Statistics South Africa do not distinguish "children" as defined in the Constitution. While the constitutional and internationally accepted definition of children is people aged 0-17, the age cut-offs reported in official Stats SA surveys are in five-year bands: 0-4, 5-9, 10-14 and 15-19 etc.

Sean Jones, in his study of children living in hostels, found oscillating migration patterns amongst children, who moved frequently between urban and rural areas, and within urban areas. “Children were sent back to rural areas intermittently when money was short for schooling, for example…” (Jones 1993, cited by Hendersen in Hall & Hendersen, 2009).

The “Birth to Twenty” (BT20) study in greater Johannesburg area is notable in that it provides some information on changes in urban children’s living environments. BT20 is a panel survey which is following a cohort of children from their birth in 1990 for 20 years to 2010. As part of this study, caregivers of nearly 5 400 children participated in a cross-sectional “Children’s School Survey” which was undertaken in 2002, and which enabled comparison between the BT20 cohort and more recent migrant children of the same age. Richter et al (2006) use data from the schools survey to explore whether urban migration is associated with differences in children’s living conditions. Against a backdrop of widespread assumptions that children in urban areas are better off than rural children, the article finds enormous disparity in the living conditions of urban child residents. Importantly, migrant children “were significantly less likely to live in a house (55%) than long-standing resident children (74%), and more likely to live in a shack, garage, flat or cottage” (Richter et al., 2006:204). Long-term child residents were significantly more likely to live in accommodation that was owned by family members, and had better access to basic services. Despite the fact that adult work-seeking is one of the drivers of migration, in-migrant parents (particularly mothers) were less likely than long-term residents to be employed (see also Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002). The pattern continues for various other indicators of child well-being: migrant children were more likely to start school late and lived in households that had fewer assets and appliances. These disparities are all the more striking in light of the finding that nearly half of all surveyed children were born elsewhere and had migrated to the metropolis within their first 12 years. The authors conclude that “Whilst migration to urban areas is often prompted by the search for improved living conditions…it may not translate into the same benefits that long-term resident families enjoy. In-migrant children consequently appear to be more vulnerable to poverty, as well as health, social and educational risks, and may experience more difficulty in navigating the hazards of urban life… The results of the study therefore suggest that the wellbeing of migrant families and children is of particular concern in policy formulation related to the provision of infrastructure and social services” (Richter et al., 2006:211-212).

1.6.4 The effect of adult migrancy on poverty and living conditions

It has been argued that temporary or circular migration inhibits the improvement of urban housing through self-help processes because segmented household structures require division of resources (for instance between an urban and a rural home), reducing the income surplus for urban housing. Thus “the separation of families in

South Africa is likely to slow the [housing] consolidation process" (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999:2389).

At the same time, the dependence of rural households on remittances places them in an economically precarious position. An analysis of income mobility by Woolard and Klasen, using the KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS), found that, while demographic events such as the loss (or gain) of household members was the biggest single contributor to change in household income, a fall in remittances accounted for 11% of instances where households moved below an exogenous poverty line (Woolard & Klasen, 2004). The KIDS survey showed that rural households were larger than urban households on average, and also contained a larger share of children. An increase in the share of children in rural households was a significant determinant of (negative) change in household income over a five year period from 1993 to 1998 (Woolard & Klasen, 2004:24-25). Post 1998, this effect is likely to be offset by the widespread roll-out of the child support grant, which operates on the principle that the grant should follow the child – in the same way that a large share of elderly household members (pensioners) is associated with increases in income (Woolard & Klasen, 2004:25). Studies have suggested that remittances to rural households are shrinking. One of the reasons for this may be an unenvisaged consequence of the expansion of the social grant system, where a large proportion of grants, targeted mostly to children and pensioners, go to rural areas. This may have "reduced the need, or the perceived need, for the migrant to remit income" (Posel & Casale, 2003).

Although circular migration brings some economic benefits to rural households with migrant members, it can also result in further inequality, where the costs of migration are sustained by rural households, and excluded households are trapped in deep poverty without external income sources or local resources. "Such poverty is hard to relieve through intervention because the poorest are the most remote and least connected to possible means of support or amelioration" (Collinson et al., 2006:32).

1.6.5 Migration and household fragmentation

There is a familiar concern in South Africa (seen in the media, in policy statements and in academic discourse) about the "dissolution" of the "traditional" family, with migration identified as one of the contributing elements. This is not the place to discuss the concept of "family" – there is a wealth of anthropological literature on the subject. The simple point for now is that the realities of African family life do not necessarily fit with Western notions of the (ideal) nuclear family. For children, this means greater fluidity in household and care arrangements than would be envisaged in the nuclear family model – as Helen Meintjes (2009) describes:

> South Africa has a long history of children not living consistently in the same dwelling as their biological parents as a result of poverty, labour migration, educational opportunities, or cultural practice, among other things. It is common for relatives to play a substantial role in child-rearing.

> Children often experience a sequence of different caregivers, and many children are brought up without paternal figures, or live in different households to their biological siblings.

Anthropologist Ngwane suggests that "a discourse of dissolution of kin relations … predates migrant labour mobility – he mentions, for example, the enormous dislocating impact of the 19th century Difeqane wars – and argues that migrancy, rather than leading to the dissolution of families, has been the means through which local homes are maintained" (Ngwane 2003, cited by Hendersen in Hall & Hendersen, 2009:41-2). Ansell and Van Blerk (2005), studying child mobility in the context of HIV/AIDS in Lesotho and Malawi, describe child migration as a deliberate coping strategy, where "decisions around where a child will move are agentive strategies that undermine notions of poor people as passive victims waiting for state or NGO support" (Hendersen in Hall & Hendersen, 2009:41).

Similarly, Sarah White warns that "in all societies the fundamental relationships for the nurture and development of children are structured through the institution of the family" but that "policy and academic discussion of family forms has been overshadowed by moral and symbolic fears about 'break down' and 'fragmentation', especially with regard to dynamics of modernisation and urbanisation… Family and household forms and the relations within them have always been closely inter-related with a range of environmental, social, political, life-cycle and economic factors, as well as the particular dynamics amongst the individuals who constitute them." (White, 2002:1098).

At a household level, models suggest that household fragmentation through temporary or circular (as opposed to permanent) migration is a means for survival, driven by a complex of economic and social strategies – to maximise household income, minimise economic risk and increase exposure to social resources such as education and health care (Collinson et al., 2006). The fact that there are family members who can care for children at a (rural) "household of origin", enables working age women, including mothers, to migrate to cities in search of employment (Casale & Posel, 2006:15). Thus household members "spread themselves over rural and urban places to experience the particular utility each has to offer" and this is a cumulative process, facilitated by a network of kin, extended kin and migrant networks (Collinson et al., 2006:24). The dissolution or fragmentation of families therefore has particular consequences for livelihoods in the context of labour migration, where the impact has been to "link the rural and urban economies through the movement of people" (May et al., 1998).

However, these patterns may be changing, with stronger association between "permanence" in the migration pattern and family configuration: the longer migrants have lived in the city "the more likely they are to have a spouse and children living with them" (Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999:2381).

At present, the adult and child populations are differently distributed. While 39% of the adult population live in one of the six metropolitan areas (95% CI: 35.5-42.9%), only 28% of the child population is metropolitan (95% CI: 24.6-31.9%) (own calculations from Stats SA's General Household Survey 2007). With the focus of economic development and housing policy firmly on the city, it is possible that the distribution of children will more closely approximate that of adults – through a combination of urban births and child urban migration. In both cases, there are important implications for housing provision and the development of neighbourhoods.

1.6.6 Social cohesion – children as creators of social capital

Finally, in considering child mobility and the reception of children into cities, it is easy to emphasise the potential advantages for children – for instance, in terms of resources, opportunity and the (re)unification of children with immediate family members. It is less common to consider the ways in which the inclusion of children benefits the receiving households, although research has shown that one of the considerations in deciding where children will live is their "capacities to make a contribution to the households into which they will move" (Ansell & van Blerk, 2005).

British researchers Susan Weller and Irene Bruegel write about children's role in the development of neighbourhood social capital, with an explicit aim to promote children's experience in more mainstream urban debates. While child-centred research has focused on the importance of defined micro-level spaces in children's lives, there has been little attention by social capital theorists to the role of space, place and geography from a children's perspective, and child-centred research in turn has seldom addressed issues of social cohesion or children as social agents in their neighbourhoods (Harpham, 2002; Weller & Bruegel, 2009).

Societal concerns about children's place in the built environment are influenced by perceptions of children as being dependant and vulnerable on the one hand, and a "threat to the social hegemony of what is commonly regarded as a 'naturally' adult domain" on the other (Weller & Bruegel, 2009:630). But research showed that children have an important role in "enabling the development of social cohesion and social capital, either directly via their own actions – for example, helping neighbours, 'hanging out' and building local networks – or indirectly by providing connections and networks for their parents and other members of the community" (Weller & Bruegel, 2009:631). The research focused on the period of children's transition to secondary school – a period of growing independence and spatial freedom for children – in UK contexts where there was very limited access to well-resourced schools.

The authors challenge the dominant social capital theory that sees social capital as "unitary within families", and rather describe children as "active agents in the development and maintenance of social capital at the level of the family and neighbourhood" (Weller & Bruegel, 2009:641). While children 'inherit' or draw on the social networks of their families, the opposite is also true, and this child-generated process of social cohesion is helped if the local physical and social infrastructure is of a good standard.

Chapter 2 Housing policy

In 2005 South Africa celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the document that contained the liberation movement's vision for the future and provided the basis for the Reconstruction and Development Programme. But there are questions about the extent to which the policies and programmes of the democratic government have addressed the goals and aspirations contained in the Charter – declarations such as "there shall be housing, security and comfort." Subsequent years have seen a revival of community protests, of the kind not seen since the Apartheid era, as people demand that the State provide them with the houses and services that were promised. Despite the government's stated commitment to economic development and poverty eradication, persistently high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality remain, and the majority of South Africa's children live in ultra-poor households, disproportionately represented outside metropolitan areas.

In fact a range of poverty alleviation programmes have been introduced, and there has been massive delivery of housing and services to the poor. In South Africa's first decade of democracy, the national housing subsidy scheme became a critical poverty alleviation strategy. The focus of South Africa's housing policy since 1994 has been largely to redress the structural imbalances and severe housing shortages that were the legacy of Apartheid. At the time of transition, in 1994, the housing backlog was estimated to be 1.5 million urban households, with a projected annual increase of around 178 000 households due to population growth. Other contextual factors informing the development of programmes targeting the poor included high levels of poverty, a large rural population, and an urban population which, although it constituted over 50% of households, was "very poorly housed and very poorly located far from economic opportunities and services" (Tomlinson, 1999).

The housing subsidy scheme is therefore a pivotal component of the state's poverty alleviation response: a developmental programme intended to redress historic spatial inequality and promote economic development. It represents the biggest single government transfer to poor households in South Africa in monetary terms, and has the impressive, if somewhat dubious, record for having delivered more free houses than any other country in the world – with a total of over 2.5 million housing units developed or under construction by March 2008.

Despite the quantitative achievements, numerous limitations of the housing subsidy scheme are documented in a large literature. These include issues of quality – related to the housing benefit (poor workmanship, small size of properties and dwellings, and the requirement to provide services as part of the housing package) and to neighbourhoods (peripheral location, lack of social amenities and a uniformity of

design that is not qualitatively different to apartheid's resettlement areas) – as well as a range of process issues that undermine civic participation and result in lengthy delays for expectant beneficiaries. Importantly, there is little evidence of housing policy achievements in transforming the spatial and social fragmentation that formed the basis of structural inequality under apartheid (see, for example, Charlton, 2009; Gilbert & Crankshaw, 1999; Huchzermeyer, 2004).

2.1 Getting perspective: from "nation" to "child"

In a recent paper Sarah Charlton (2009) applies the concept of "competing rationalities" to explore outcomes and constraints in the housing programme, using three different viewpoints – the nation, the city and the household. This three-tiered analytical framework enables her to explore the ambiguities of success and failure in the national housing subsidy scheme, where "multiple, and at times, competing interpretations" reflect the complexity of interests that drive policy and cumulatively obscure the need for more fundamental review and transformation (Charlton, 2009:301).

At the level of the nation, Charlton argues, the housing programme has been driven by political imperative – to "demonstrate delivery to an expectant post-democracy constituency" – which has in turn informed an approach where short-term feasibility options are at odds with the broader vision to transform residential environments and promote the kind of "urban citizenship" needed to build an integrated society. Housing policy, then, is key to realising national goals to boost the domestic economy and contribute to poverty reduction, and is meant to have a catalytic effect on property markets.

At the level of city she describes some intersection with national aims, though issues of spatial reconfiguration and the creation of "well-managed places of opportunity" are at the forefront in the local agenda. This is about systems of representation through elected councillors and a need for socially integrated settlements, as well as administrative concerns which require that residents should have a recognised address. At the level of the household, primary concerns relate to standard of living (incorporating land, dwelling and services) – which should be affordable, adequate and provide security of tenure. Location and access to economic opportunity and social amenities are also critical at this level of analysis.

Charlton argues that, when viewed from these three perspectives, some objectives are overlapping and reinforcing, while others may be contradictory. The paper goes on to consider the varied outcomes of the housing programme in light of these divergent or "competing" rationalities, or what Gilbert refers to as "target proliferation" (2004:23), leading her to conclude that there is a complex of what may be termed "positive" or

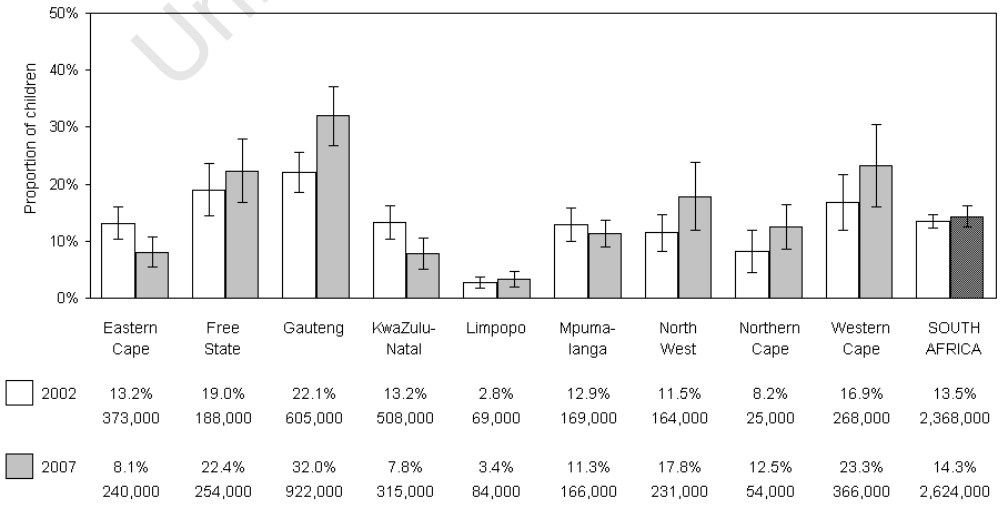
"negative" outcomes, depending on the viewpoint, and that the resultant confusion may obscure substantial review and reform of the programme.

At the risk of further complicating things by adding another "rationality" I wish to extend this framework slightly by taking it from household to the individual level of analysis – that of the child. Charlton acknowledges early in the paper that the concept of "household", as it is used in the analytical framework, is limited in that it is a broad term which suggests commonality of experience, when in fact it refers to a "heterogeneous cluster of beneficiaries" (2009:301). While this is presumably intended to refer to variation *between* households, it is also important to consider the variation *within* households, where the respective needs and experiences of adults and children are different, and often overlooked. In addition, there is a critical difference between existing and potential households, given a context where historic fragmentation of families persists, and where access to housing may be an important mechanism for enabling choices about household composition and care arrangements for children. Thus there is a need to consider both existing and potential households when thinking about the rationale for housing from a children's perspective.

2.2 Children and housing in South Africa

While children are proportionately less likely than adults to live in informal dwellings, a significant number of children in South Africa – over 2.6 million – are informally housed. And despite massive delivery of formal housing, there has been no quantifiable decline in the number or proportion of children living in backyard shacks or informal settlements. The figure below, derived from a child-centred analysis of national data, shows that if anything, the proportion of informally housed children may be increasing in provinces which are the sites of rapid in-migration.

Figure 1 Children living in informal housing in South Africa, 2002 & 2007

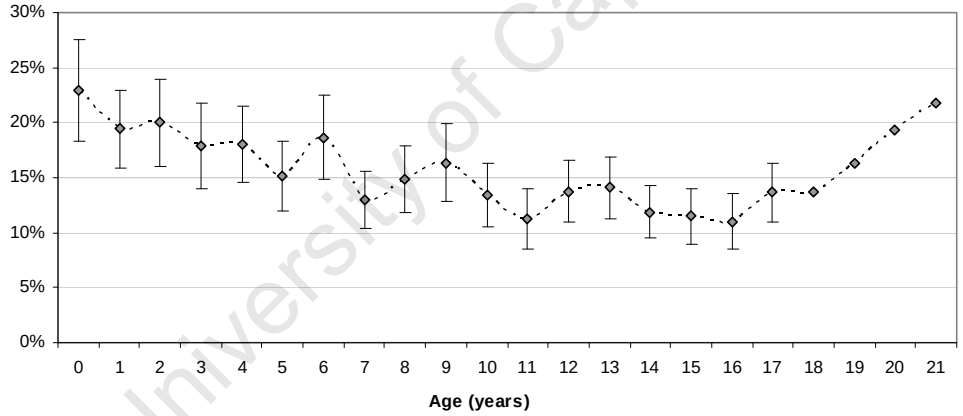


Source: Children Count: www.childrencount.ci.org.za (based on analysis of General Household Surveys 2002 & 2007 by Marera and Hall)

Over a six-year period from 2002 to 2007, statistics for Gauteng province show a significant increase of 10 percentage points in the proportion of children living in informal dwellings – from 22% to 32% of all children living in that province, taking into account any population increases that occurred over the six years. Over the same period, there was a similar increase in the proportion of children living in overcrowded households (defined as more than two people per room, including living room and kitchen but excluding bathroom). In 2002, 20% of children living in Gauteng lived in overcrowded dwellings, and by 2007 this proportion had increased to 31% (own calculations based on Statistics South Africa's General Household Surveys).

An analysis by age suggests that babies and young children are more likely than older children to live in informal dwellings. While 23% of infants under a year are cared for in informal accommodation, only 11% of 16-year-olds are informally housed. (On the other hand, 22% of 16-year-olds live in "traditional" accommodation, as opposed to 16% of infants).

Figure 2 Proportion of informally housed children, by age
Own analysis based on StatsSA General Household Survey 2007



The common (and constitutional) definition of children is people aged 0-17 years, but in the graph above I have extended the trend line to 21 years, to demonstrate that the change of direction at 17 years does appear to signify the beginning of a trend where young adults move to informal housing. It is not possible to determine from cross-sectional data the extent to which the drop-off in formally housed children is the result of child mobility.

The issue of informal living environments in South Africa requires more research and analysis from a children's perspective, in order to motivate for and guide responses, which may range from the way in which housing subsidies are targeted, to urgent delivery of critical services for children, to addressing issues of space and safety for children. International studies have made strong links between poor living conditions in informal settlements and preventable child deaths, and show associations between

informal/overcrowded living conditions and poorer school performance, indicating that "quality of housing and community space affects not only the physical health and safety of children, but also their capacity to learn, and their emotional and social well-being" (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions 2006).

2.3 Targeting the Housing Subsidy Scheme

This section draws extensively on a policy review I wrote as a background paper to the broad research project (Hall, 2005). The review outlines the rights and policy framework for delivering adequate housing, which in turn may provide a basis for improving housing conditions as well as gaining access to local resources and delivery of services. It then examines the main programme for housing delivery to the millions of people without adequate housing – the housing subsidy scheme. This study draws on existing literature to consider the effectiveness of the targeting mechanism for the housing subsidy scheme – both in its design and in implementation – from the perspective of children.

The Department of Housing has an array of programmes aimed at facilitating access to housing and housing finance, normalising property markets and promoting urban renewal and the development of sustainable human settlements. Targeting implies having mechanisms for identifying target populations or groups and the assessment of beneficiaries through some form of eligibility screening process. Housing programmes which specifically target the poor are generally geared towards the "household" as beneficiary unit. However, targeting to the individual household is generally preceded by a broader, geographic targeting mechanism. In fact, targeting of the housing subsidy scheme seems to involve three main levels of assessment: first, the relative housing need across provinces (which informs provincial housing budgets); second, the identification of areas or communities for housing development (which should be outlined in Integrated Development Plans); and third, the screening of individual households within those areas or projects.

2.3.1 Provincial allocations

The initial "tier" of targeting is at provincial level, where national priorities (such as the emphasis on provision of housing in urban areas and the upgrading of informal settlements) inform calculations of housing need for each province and the conditional budget allocations to meet that need. (In the case of accredited municipalities, housing allocations are transferred directly from national to local government – though the accreditation process has been slow.) This first level of targeting, defined as "housing need", reflects the latent demand for housing in terms of the department's priorities and objectives, and is derived from population and housing data in the census. Defined areas of need tend to be highly concentrated around urban nodes.

Although calculations of relative housing need across provinces inform budgets for implementation of housing programmes, the location of housing development projects does not necessarily conform to the distribution of housing need. In reality, housing delivery is far more widely spread, although the largest subsidised developments are undertaken in metropolitan areas.

2.3.2 Urban focus

In the housing sector, subsidised housing development is prioritised for urban areas since this is the direction of population movement, the location of "productive" centres, and the eradication/upgrading of informal settlements is a key focus of the housing programme (Department of Housing, 2004b). Spatial planning and government investment in development is guided by the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) of the presidency, which is intended to inform the development plans of the three spheres of government – including Integrated Development Plans (IDP's) at both local and provincial level, and the Medium Term Expenditure Framework – and to facilitate intergovernmental co-ordination (Office of the President, 2006).

The underlying principle of the NSDP is that economic growth is a prerequisite for achieving other policy objectives and particularly poverty alleviation. Accordingly, government spending on fixed investment beyond basic services (health, education and municipal services) is focused on areas of economic growth and potential – primarily metropolitan, industrial and urban centres, and their adjacent nodes. The rationale for the distinction is that there will be a flow of people towards areas of higher economic potential, and the focus on investment in these areas suggests that this will become a self-fulfilling prophecy, since one of the mechanisms of migration is movement towards opportunities and resources.

However, given the fact that much of the migration in South Africa is not permanent but temporary or circular, often involving individuals rather than households, it will be important that rural areas with low economic potential (many of which are historically and severely under-resourced) are not overlooked. In terms of the NSDP, areas identified as having low development potential should not be major recipients of government investment beyond the provision of basic services and social transfers. This means that spending on infrastructure and the development of space will be concentrated in metropolitan areas and areas identified as nodes of economic growth, while investments in medium to low potential areas – albeit with high human need – will be limited largely to social investments.

The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) is a presidential initiative to address poverty and underdevelopment through integrated development involving all spheres of

government. This is a form of area-based or spatial targeting, but one that risks being inequitable because it tends to be politically driven.

Rural households, although often identified in development discourse as vulnerable or marginalised (and representing the largest poor population), have not been particularly targeted by the subsidy programme – although the rural housing strategy was reintroduced as a focus area in the "Breaking New Ground" framework. The housing backlog has tended to be reflected as being more pronounced in urban areas, since it was assumed that traditional dwellings in rural areas may be "adequate", even though they may fail to comply (in terms of size, materials, location and other specifications) with norms and standards for urban areas.

In theory, there are two ways for rural households to benefit from subsidies that give them secure tenure: rural housing subsidies and land subsidies (in the form of the Settlement & Land Acquisition Grant – SLAG). Land acquisition grants of up to R16 000 are available for households earning less than R1 500. However, the SLAG is not simply designed to enable access to residential accommodation (as is the housing subsidy). It is envisaged as contributing to the purchase of land, settlement, and agricultural production. Although the land grant is considerably smaller in value than the housing subsidy, the requirements suggest that obtaining the SLAG is also considerably more onerous for beneficiaries, since approval is not based purely on eligibility, but it also contingent on submission of a business plan which is generally developed with the (paid) assistance of a project planner (Hall & Jacobs, 2002).

Where the rural housing subsidy was implemented, the idea was that it should allow for greater flexibility than the (largely urban) project linked subsidy – so that, for instance, it should be possible for small-scale farmers to use the subsidy for fencing if this is more useful than the construction of residential dwellings (Department of Housing, 2004b). The provision of free basic services is also likely to differ across urban and rural areas – partly because of differences in infrastructure capacity and partly because poorer and more scattered rural populations make it less easy to apply the cross-subsidisation methods commonly used in the urban municipal service tariff systems.

2.3.3 Area-based / community level targeting

Within provinces, the geographic and community-based level of targeting is informed by on-the-ground identification of communities or areas in need of housing development. It is unclear what considerations drive departmental decisions about the location of housing projects, and there does not seem to be a specific or standard formula for targeting or prioritising particular areas. Municipalities are supposed to identify housing projects in the housing chapters of their IDPs, and these in turn inform provincial planning templates, but in practice the spatial and housing

components of IDPs have tended to be very weak.[9] Some local authorities use aerial photography as a means to identify areas of high density, where the prevalence of shacks is indicative of inadequate housing and overcrowding. In some cases, housing development projects are undertaken in order to regain land that has been illegally invaded (for instance, where it was necessary to move informal settlements off land identified for infrastructure installations such as power plants and roads, or privately owned land) or to upgrade existing informal settlements (referred to as *in situ* upgrading projects). The comprehensive plan, BNG, has indicated that the direction of housing development will be increasingly based on area- or community-level projects, in keeping with the sustainable human settlement model.

The location of housing developments can also be informed by community-based housing initiatives, in which the Department may only become involved in the process at the point where a designated community structure or Support Organisation applies for an establishment or facilitation grant. The formal adoption of the People's Housing Process by the National Department and the growing use of this process by provincial departments and municipalities indicate that the community-driven housing development approach is now a key instrument for delivery of housing. Thus, the department's geographic/community targeting mechanism can be proactive (where housing departments identify and initiate housing developments in certain areas) or supportive (where housing departments respond to housing projects initiated by residents).

In order to access a housing subsidy, then, it is usually necessary to be part of a community identified for upgrading or relocation, or where housing development has been initiated through the People's Housing Process. As we will see later, this can result in entitlement failures, for instance where caregivers living in households outside of targeted areas are unable to exercise their rights and claim the adequate housing to which they and their children are constitutionally entitled.

2.3.4 Individual household targeting

The third tier, the household-level targeting mechanism, is via a household assessment (individual applicants complete application forms) which combines demographic and home-ownership considerations with a simple means test.

There are six main criteria for eligibility for the Housing Subsidy Scheme (all of which must be fulfilled):

- Citizenship: Beneficiaries must have South African citizenship or be in possession of a permanent residence permit

[9] Warren Smit (previously at Development Action Group) – email correspondence 2006

- Legally competent to contract: Beneficiaries must be over 21, or married/divorced and of sound mind
- Dependants: beneficiary must be married (in terms of civil law or customary union), or be in a permanent partnership (cohabiting with someone), AND/OR have one or more proven financial dependants (in which case preference will be given to widowed, divorced or single parents)
- Monthly household income: The joint income of the applicant and their spouse or permanent partner must be under R3 500 for the full subsidy (until the end of 2004 the income threshold for the maximum subsidy was R1 500). Proof of income is required. In the case of self-employment, the applicant must sign an affidavit stating the amount earned.
- No previous subsidies: Beneficiaries must not have received benefits from a previous government housing subsidy or land acquisition programme
- First time property owner: beneficiary must be acquiring ownership of a property for the first time, except in the case of the consolidation subsidy and relocation assistance.

The Housing Subsidy Scheme includes six main subsidy types, which in theory provide potential beneficiaries with some flexibility in their housing options and have slightly different additional criteria: in addition to the means test and demographic requirements, subsidies to individual households (through the individual subsidy or discount benefit scheme) require that the beneficiary household must have identified a house and entered into agreement with the seller (in the case of an individual subsidy), or have identified a plot of land for building, and accessed credit finance for the remainder of the cost if necessary. Applicants for the discount benefit scheme must be the legitimate occupants of municipal rental housing. Individual subsidies are not available in all provinces, and where they are, access is dependant on beneficiary knowledge of the subsidy option.

The main form of subsidy used is the project-linked subsidy, which accounts for over 70% of all subsidies approved in the past 15 years. The evaluation of the targeting mechanism focuses largely on this subsidy option.

The individual targeting mechanism – and particularly the means test component – is difficult to verify and open to abuse, meaning that errors of inclusion are possible. However the nature of the benefit suggests that an additional form of targeting – self-selection – comes into play. In other words, only those who are genuinely poor would be prepared to live in a subsidy house. Arguably, a more important concern is about errors of exclusion in the targeting mechanism because, with the exception of the individual subsidy (which has been largely discontinued) being eligible does not necessarily mean that one can receive, or even apply for, the subsidy.

In reality, then, access is determined by provincial housing priorities and geographical targeting. Ravallion and Wodon (undated) refer to this as "geographic separability, whereby the allocation across individuals within a given area is conditional on the allocation to that area". In the context of project-linked and People's Housing Process (PHP) developments, the geographic targeting mechanism is often preceded by local targeting where responsibility for identifying beneficiary households is relegated to decision-making structures within the communities. Here, community values, local knowledge and democratic processes may inform household-level targeting. However, the fact that the Department does not relinquish control of the formal targeting mechanism (the requirement that households are individually eligible) means that these two mechanisms are sometimes at odds, and in some cases risk individual exclusions which divide communities (see, for example, Huchzermeyer, 2002; Ross, 2003).

2.3.5 Targeting women

The Housing White Paper outlines a number of challenges in housing delivery. In particular, it acknowledges sociological factors such a circular migration, dual households, the prevalence of single and female-headed households and the cultural and legal impediments to women's access to housing as sociological considerations that may limit the ability of housing policy to reach all targets (Department of Housing, 1994, Section 3.3.8). This research is an attempt to investigate the extent to which the National Housing Subsidy Scheme manages to address these considerations, at policy level and in practice, when evaluated from the perspective of children in South Africa.

Chapter 3 Research objectives, rationale and method

3.1 Objectives of the research

The objectives of the study are:

1. to determine the eligible child population in two sites, and compare this with the population of rights-bearers;

2. to determine the reach of the programme in relation to the eligible (child) population, and to identify errors of exclusion and inclusion;

3. to identify some of the costs and consequences of the targeting mechanisms for applicants and beneficiaries;

4. to explore obstacles to take-up amongst those who do not access the programme, and identify administrative obstacles to the effective implementation of the targeting mechanism; and

5. to frame these findings within the South African (housing) policy and the broader international discourse on targeted delivery to the poor.

The primary research is conceptualised around the following core questions:

- *Is the targeting mechanism appropriately conceptualised?* (Does the targeting mechanism include those who are most in need? Which children fall outside the target beneficiary group? Does the targeting mechanism result in unintended exclusions?)

- *Is the targeting mechanism, when implemented, effective in enabling targeted beneficiaries to access the programme?* (What proportion of eligible children / households is reached by the programme? Who does the programme reach, and what is the profile of beneficiaries within the research site? Who does the programme not reach? How does the beneficiary profile compare with the stated / intended targets? What are some of the factors that might result in exclusion?)

- *What are the consequences of the targeting mechanism for applicants and beneficiaries, and what are the barriers to accessing housing subsidies?* (What are the opportunity costs, the time costs, the financial costs and other costs incurred in applying for / accessing the subsidy? To what extent are targeted people aware of the costs and consequences before applying for the benefit? How are the costs and benefits distributed across individuals, households, neighbourhoods; who bears the burden and who gains the benefit? What are the

obstacles to accessing the programme, and how are these related to the targeting mechanism?)

The broad research project examined a set of six national poverty alleviation programmes which address children's socio-economic rights: the child support grant, the school fee exemption, the school nutrition programme, free health care, free basic water and the housing subsidy scheme. While these can be evaluated as discrete programmes, the idea was also to allow for a system-wide evaluation. Ultimately, we were concerned with synergy between programmes that could (or should) constitute an integrated poverty alleviation strategy that respond to children's needs – although this is not necessarily how the programmes are conceptualised. This thesis focuses only on the housing subsidy scheme, but where relevant I refer to some of the links with other programmes.

3.2 Rationale: The need for primary research

Given the large literature on housing, and numerous evaluations of the housing subsidy scheme, why was it necessary to undertake primary research at all? There are a number of reasons, which are outlined briefly below.

3.2.1 Focus on children

National survey data is extremely useful for monitoring progress in achieving policy targets (for instance, the Presidency's Mid-term Review (2007) draws extensively on surveys conducted by Statistics South Africa and other research agencies). However, national household and even individual level statistics tend to mask the disproportionately poor conditions in which children live and grow. Child poverty (and I use the term in its broadest sense to refer to multiple deprivations) is generally an under-researched issue in South Africa. This is about both data gaps and analytical gaps. While there is a wealth of national household data, this is seldom examined from a children's perspective, except where it relates to outcomes specifically associated with children, such as educational attendance, child health and so on. For example, national household access to acceptable basic sanitation is reported at 71% for 2006 (Office of the President, 2007), but a child-centred analysis indicates that only 58% of children had access to the same level of service in the same year, with marked provincial and racial disparity (access to sanitation declines to as low as 24% for children living in Limpopo) (Children's Institute, 2008). This is largely because the spatial distribution of children is different to that of the adult population: as we have seen, children are disproportionately concentrated in rural and poorly serviced areas. Such findings have relevance for spatial targeting and integrated human settlement planning, as well as for reporting on progress towards policy targets.

Specifically, there has been very little focus on children in the housing discourse. While children may be counted in housing survey rosters, there is no evidence – either

locally or internationally – of child-centred analyses that investigate targeting and targeting errors in the housing programme. Assumptions that children are permanent appendages to their current households means that existing evaluations have failed to consider the role of housing in enabling children to move, or for young mothers with children to establish their own households.

3.2.2 From policy to practice – evaluating in the context of implementation

An initial review of housing policy documents and reports on implementation (see Hall, 2005) suggests some divergence between the conceptualisation of targeting mechanisms at national level, and their implementation at local level.

National programmes emanate from national policies and tend to be fairly broad in their conceptualisation, while the detailed targeting components are often developed and implemented at provincial or even local level. The housing subsidy scheme is a national programme, but provincial housing departments (and in some cases, municipalities) are responsible for identifying need, setting targets, allocating subsidies and overseeing the construction and delivery of housing.

Decentralisation in the targeting of programmes is not necessarily undesirable, since it may be more appropriate for need and mechanisms to be defined locally (for instance around housing and services). However, this can have implications for administrative justice if it results in discretionary decisions or a lack of clarity about eligibility and targeting methods – in other words, if it becomes difficult for eligible people to claim their entitlement.

Not only does implementation vary, but in some instances the targeting mechanism itself is defined differently for rural and urban areas, or the lack of clear definition means that targeting mechanisms and procedures are not consistently applied. All this means that local level research is needed to provide information on the implementation of the targeting mechanism and, in this context, the outcome of the targeting mechanism for potential beneficiaries.

3.2.3 Measuring take-up

The assessment of programmes was undertaken by evaluating both the conceptualisation and implementation of the targeting of programmes. This involved a comparison of the number of children eligible under the programme and the number that have been able to gain access to the programme (Hall et al., Forthcoming).

It is impossible to reliably calculate take-up of the housing subsidy programme as a proportion of the eligible population through secondary analysis of data, for two main reasons: first there is a lack of reliable household data which would support reliable calculations of eligibility – particularly from a child perspective. This is because

household relationships are defined with reference to a nominal "household head" – whereas in the tailored research it was possible to identify a *de facto* "primary caregiver" for each child (allowing, for instance, for multiple caregivers within the same household). In theory, one could identify caregivers by following a series of assumptions about intra-household relationships in the many households where children's mothers are absent (as was done in order to estimate eligibility for the child support grant in Budlender, Rosa, & Hall, 2005).

Second, there are no existing data which accurately record uptake of the housing subsidy scheme at household, let alone individual, level. For instance, the only national uptake data on access to housing subsidies is the General Household Survey (and, more recently, the first wave of the much smaller National Income Dynamics Study), but the GHS data are not useful for our purposes since information on uptake is captured only at household level, does not yield data for child-centred analysis, and does not establish whether the sampled house is the subsidy house.

Administrative data can, at best, provide information on the number of households or individuals reached by a programme and a few basic demographic characteristics. The Department of Housing maintains statistics on subsidies approved, houses built or under construction and properties transferred, allowing for provincial breakdown and delineation by subsidy type. While it is possible to obtain national and provincial statistics on the number of households reached by the programme, the available administrative data is inadequate for determining in any detail *who* programmes reach and who they do not reach, let alone describing the process and costs of access and providing any information about the obstacles to access and the reasons for exclusion. Importantly, there are no administrative or research data which account for the number or profile of children reached by the Housing Subsidy Scheme.

In summary, neither the Department's administrative data nor the existing national data sets can provide appropriate child-centred data to enable an analysis of access to the housing subsidy. It is therefore impossible to express take-up of the programme as a proportion of those eligible through secondary analysis of national household data, or by compiling and analyzing administrative data. In other words, a tailored research design was necessary to enable analyses of eligibility and uptake.

3.2.4 Linking quantitative and qualitative research

In addition, primary research was needed to provide information about the processes and costs of access to poverty alleviation programmes as well as the obstacles to access and the reasons for exclusion. Here, a further advantage of a tailored survey was that it was possible to conduct a rapid analysis of the data and identify specific households for return visits so that we could conduct more in-depth interviews about particular issues amongst purposively selected participants.

3.3 Criteria for site selection

As explained above, confining the primary research to specific sites enabled researchers to assess how the targeting mechanism works in practice and to investigate the processes and effects of implementation from both the implementers' and beneficiaries' perspective. This would help to explain how and why poor people access (or fail to access) the housing subsidy scheme, in the context of actual implementation.

In addition, working within bounded research sites provided a context for examining the links and overlaps between the different programmes, as well as the gaps which may result in multiple exclusions.

An initial task for the research team was to select sites for the primary research. Primary research is always circumscribed by financial, capacity and time constraints. In this case, there were sufficient resources for a detailed study of two sites. Three main criteria informed site selection, and these are described briefly below:

3.3.1 Contrasting environments

At the outset, it was decided that the research should be undertaken in two very different environments and settlement types. This was not an effort to be representative (the results are illustrative rather than generalisable), but in order to examine a wide range of enabling and disabling factors in targeting and programme uptake. The research team decided to select one metropolitan and one rural site. Although there is some lack of clarity as to the precise definition of "urban" and "rural" in South Africa[10], it was apparent from the preliminary discussion documents and from initial primary research about child grants, that implementation of the programmes and their targeting components can vary considerably across metropolitan and rural areas (see, for example, Budlender et al., 2005). Rural and metropolitan municipalities differ greatly in their capacity to implement programmes and finance basic services. Mechanisms needed to reach urban residents can differ from those appropriate to a rural setting where populations tend to be more scattered, may have less access to information, lower literacy levels, and need to travel further to access government institutions.

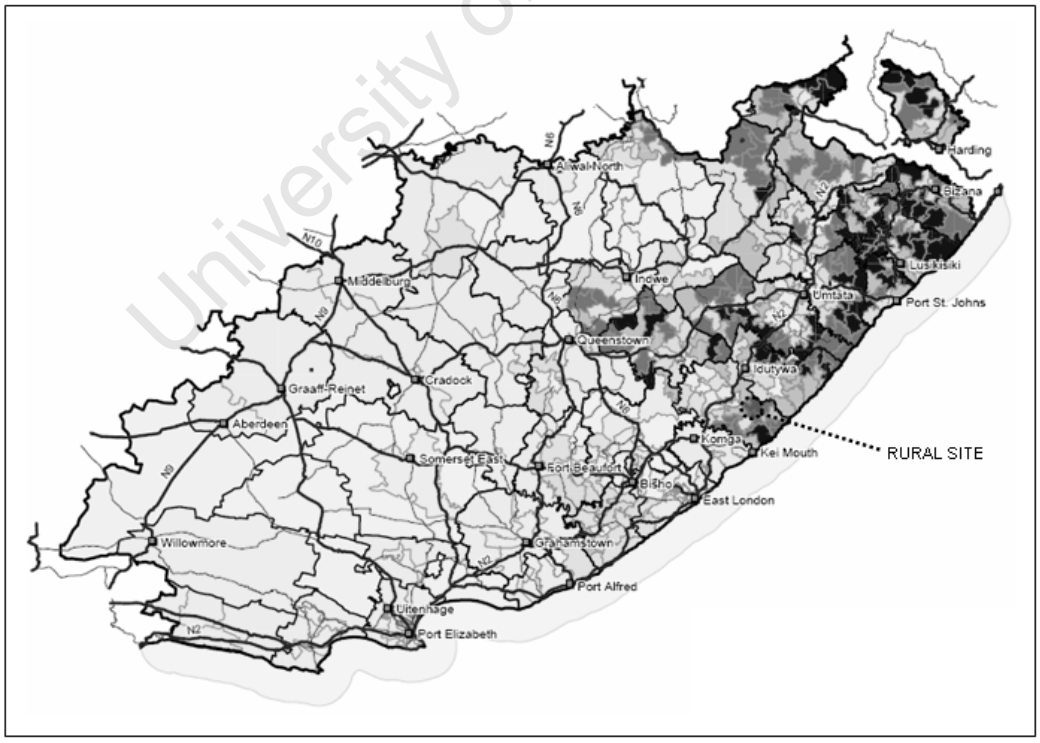
[10] Statistics South Africa released a discussion document entitled "Investigation into appropriate definitions of urban and rural areas for South Africa" – which sheds light on the difficulties in defining appropriate urban/rural delineations.

3.3.2 "Poor" areas

The research team looked for sites where the population was generally and undisputedly poor. While the research did not set out to capture the worst scenario, the focus of the study – on poverty alleviation – meant that the research should be located in poor areas that should be targeted by poverty alleviation programmes. In addition, working within a rights framework meant that we were primarily concerned with errors of exclusion. The research may be accused of being biased because it purposively targeted very poor areas. However, these are by no means the poorest settlements in the country, or even within their provinces. It was possible to compare the sites to a ranked list of the "most deprived wards" from an analysis of multiple deprivation based on the full Census dataset (Noble, Babita, Barnes, & etc, 2006). The urban site (in the Western Cape) ranked 25th out of 332 wards in that province, while the rural (Eastern Cape) site ranked 46th out of 608 wards.

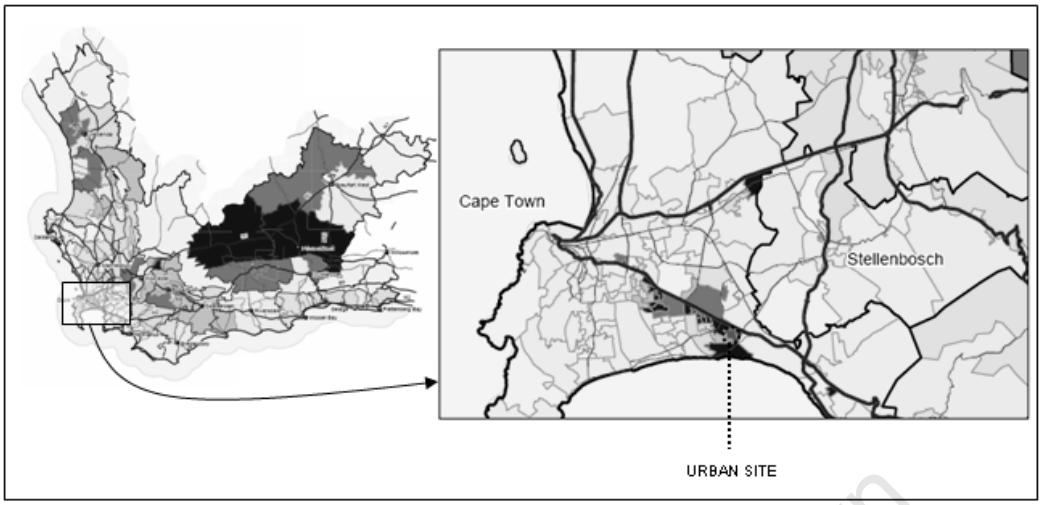
The location of the two sites is indicated on the poverty maps below, which provide a visual representation of the provincial indices of multiple deprivation analysis undertaken by CASASP (Noble et al., 2006). The dark areas are the most deprived, while the light areas are the least deprived. In the Eastern Cape, there is a clear association between areas of relative deprivation and the boundaries of the previous homelands.

Figure 3 Location of the rural site: Eastern Cape



Source: Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy – Provincial Indices of Multiple Deprivation (see www.casasp.ox.ac.uk)

Figure 4 Location of the urban site: Western Cape



Source: Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy – Provincial Indices of Multiple Deprivation (see www.casasp.ox.ac.uk)

3.3.3 Implementation of programmes

Lastly, it was necessary to select settlements where a range of poverty alleviation programmes were in operation. It was only then that the research could evaluate their implementation and the interactions between them. For this reason, both the urban sites were selected in places where the housing subsidy scheme had been implemented. The deliberate identification of a rural site where the rural housing subsidy was being rolled out meant that this site was something of an anomaly, because the rural subsidy has not been widely used.

In order to inform site selection, the research team initially obtained comprehensive lists of all subsidy housing projects in the Western and Eastern Cape. The final sites were selected following discussions with housing officials, urban planners, researchers, and ward councillors. The obvious limitation of this very purposive approach is the issue of circular logic: notably, by choosing a site with a mixture of subsidy and non-subsidy housing, we ensure that our representative survey will reflect precisely those proportions of housing subsidies. Given that formal housing is theoretically a gateway to many other programmes, including adequate services, access to schools, clinics and other facilities, the site selection would heavily influence the results of the survey. This is unavoidable since, in any case, it would not be possible to "randomly" sample two areas without taking into account housing types in the settlement. Therefore, in a sense, access to housing is both a context and an outcome in the analysis.

3.3.4 Pragmatic considerations

The study should avoid sites where research effect may have created abnormal conditions. For this reason, the selected sites were not heavily researched areas. In the case of the rural site, no previous research had been conducted in the area.

The populations should be large enough to support quantitative research, but small enough to enable a manageable sampling interval (< 20).

3.4 Methodology

The primary research methodology includes four distinct but interrelated components.

1. A representative survey of households with children in each site to quantify eligibility and take-up for the programme;

2. In-depth interviews with relevant government officials, implementers and mediating agencies, to document the implementation of the programme in the site;

3. Qualitative / semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries & non-beneficiaries, purposively selected from the survey sample, to describe the process of accessing the programme, or obstacles to programme access;

4. Focus groups with caregivers and youth in each site, to explore issues of poverty and define children's needs in the context of poverty.

The rationale and approach for each of these components are described below. A more detailed overview of analytic methods is incorporated into the respective "results" chapters.

3.4.1 Household Survey

A key research objective was to assess the extent to which the poverty alleviation programme reaches the targeted beneficiaries, and to highlight possible errors of exclusion by identifying groups or categories of potential child beneficiaries who do not access the programme. A survey method was appropriate for this task, since it enabled us to quantify children and households who were eligible using current criteria, as well as those who are beneficiaries – and to compare take-up figures with eligibility figures.

The quantitative research is mainly descriptive; at present, as explained above, it is almost impossible to calculate eligibility and take-up for the programmes from existing datasets, and the limited data which exists does not adequately support child-centred analysis. The survey aims to describe eligibility and access, from the perspective of children, at the level of the site. This may also be considered a pilot for future national measures of eligibility and take-up. However, there are also

explanatory aspects to the quantitative research – to test for possible determinants of inclusion and exclusion.

Questionnaire design

I led the development of a questionnaire to obtain data which would enable analysis of eligibility and uptake in relation to the six poverty alleviation programmes, as well as providing some demographic information about the children and the households in which they live. Where possible and appropriate, standard question formats were used to enable comparison of data with other (national) surveys such as the General Household Survey. However, more tailored questions were needed in order to determine:

- access to all six poverty alleviation programmes which the *broader* study set out to evaluate (including the housing subsidy scheme) at the level of the child and the household;
- eligibility for each of the six programmes (including the housing subsidy scheme) as precisely as possible;
- disaggregation of those who have successfully accessed the programmes (including the housing subsidy), those who have tried and failed, and those who have not tried at all.

The questionnaire consists of the following sections:

Section	Content
Cover	Sample & respondent details Introduction and consent
1	Household characteristics: Housing type and tenure, mobility, services, service fees and payments, access to amenities
2	Poverty data: Household assets & food security
3	Household roster : Demographic details of all household members (including age, gender, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income, length of stay and relationships between members) Identification of primary caregiver/s for all children in the household
4	Caregiver(s) details: Home ownership, "other" home, access to housing subsidy, savings, income & remittances
5	Child details: Vital status and co-residence with biological parents; access to child support grants; schooling, school fees and other educational expenses; access to school fee exemption; access to nutrition at school; health status; access to health services and satisfaction measures
6	Awareness of government programmes, perceptions of need and recommendations

The questionnaire was piloted in two phases. First, researchers and senior field staff who interviewed recruited 10 "participants" individually in an artificial office environment. This meant that the interviews could be observed, that difficult or

ambiguous questions could be explored qualitatively, and that researchers could discuss with each other – and with the participants – alternative question formulation, additional response categories and so on. The recruited participants were recruited on the basis that they were caregivers, co-resident with children, and lived in a township – but were not necessarily from the specific site. They were paid for their time. The second pilot was conducted by the fieldworkers, and was combined with the field training process. During the initial training workshop, fieldworkers were able to discuss and in some instances make suggestions about question formulation, based on their own experiences in conducting fieldwork. The team of 10 fieldworkers each completed two pilot interviews with respondents who they recruited themselves. In most cases these were neighbours or acquaintances, but could not be family members. Researchers reviewed the completed questionnaires and discussed them with the fieldworkers. On the basis of this review, the questions were and interviewer instructions were finalised.

The questionnaire was translated into isiXhosa by a Nobonke Ntlokwana, a staff member at the Children's Institute. We then commissioned a "blind" back-translation from isiXhosa to English by a free-lance translator. This process enabled us to identify and resolve inaccuracies and ambiguities in the translated version, which we did in consultation with the translators and fieldworkers.

A copy of the English questionnaire is attached in Appendix 1.

Sample

Our challenge was to achieve a representative sample of children in each site, within the limitations of the budget. A systematic sampling method was used to obtain a minimum sample of 200 households with children in the rural site and 300 households with children in the urban site. Based on household:child ratios in the national data, this number of households was estimated to be sufficient to yield data on at least 550 children in each site.[11]

The final sample consisted of 1 179 children living in 492 households. This total was made up of 642 children living in 308 households in the urban site, and 537 children living in 184 households in the rural site. The rural sample was smaller than anticipated, largely due to vacant properties and abandoned buildings. However, the sampling interval was so small (n=3) that the reliability of the sample was not compromised.

[11] The General Household Survey (2003) showed that 59% of South African households contained at least one child, with an average of 2.45 children per household in households with children. A sample of 550 children per site was calculated to be a sufficient sample size to support analysis with a confidence level of 95%, assuming a minimum 70:30 split on eligibility variables.

There were a number of considerations that informed the sample design. Surveyed households needed to be limited to those with children and to exclude households without children, while still ensuring that the sample was representative. For this reason we deliberately over-sampled each area, and then rejected households where there were no children after an initial screening question. The rate of over-sampling was calculated according to Census data for the relevant wards (i.e. the proportion of households with children in 2001). Where there was more than one household on a sampled property, all households with children were interviewed as separate households.

Layout plans, obtained from council, were used as a sampling frame for formal parts of the urban site – thus the sampled visiting points were erven, rather than households. Similarly, layout plans for the three rural villages provided the sampling frame for the rural site. These had recently been completed by a private planner contracted by the ADM as part of the process of township establishment under the Less Formal Township Establishment Act 113 of 1991. More detail on the sample frame and method is included in Appendix 2.

In the informal settlement Nkanini, plots are not demarcated and no layout plans were available. The Inspector for Land Invasion estimated the population to be between 8 000 and 9 000 households at the time of sampling, but the lack of a sampling frame was a challenge. One option was to conduct a census of the entire area prior to sampling, in order to enumerate households with and without children. However, this was not possible due to time and budget constraints. A second option was to sample from aerial photographs, which we obtained from an urban planner at the municipal office in Khayelitsha. However, the aerial photos were nearly two years old, and a drive around the area showed that the settlement had extended considerably since the photos were taken. We then opted for a third approach, which was simply to define walking routs through the settlement and select every n^{th} unit. We identified 25 starting points from Ntlazane Road, which cuts through the middle of Nkanini, and recorded the starting point by writing down the number of the shack and/or describing a landmark at the start. Points needed to be spaced so that paths were unlikely to cross, and at regular intervals. Using electricity poles along the road to regulate the spacing of paths and ensure that they are equidistant, we identified a clear path as close as possible to each mid-point between telephone poles. Fieldworkers each received a random starting number ranging from one to five. This number determined the first visiting point along the path. Fieldworkers only sampled on one side of the path (those with an even starting number interviewed on the right hand side, while those with an odd starting number interviewed on the left hand side only. From the first visiting point, fieldworkers proceeded along the path, interviewing on the appropriate side with a sampling interval of five. (We had initially tried a sampling interval of 10, sampling on both sides of the path, but because of the haphazard

layout, there were difficulties in determining which side of the path to sample where two shacks were opposite each other, even when we drew a line in the sand with a stick to demarcate the approximate boundary line of a site. The decision to limit sampling to one side of the path was a measure to reduce subjectivity and bias in the sampling process.)

In households with child members, data was collected in respect of all children. This meant a possibility that the clustering of children in households would produce a design effect that would reduce the precision of the survey. Calculations after completion of the survey confirmed that the effective sample size was sufficient to provide reliable results for the respective sites.

The urban sample was weighted by geographic area in order to correct the proportions of children from the existing township (Makhaza Village 3), the informal settlement (Nkanini) and the new housing development (Kuyasa). The rural sample did not need to be weighted because it was a systematic sample which captured information for every third household.

Fieldwork, quality controls and data capture

We contracted a commercial research company, Citizen Surveys, to conduct the survey. Interviews were conducted by experienced fieldworkers with appropriate language skills. They were initially briefed on the various poverty alleviation programmes and targeting concepts so that they were familiar with the purpose and focus of the study. They were then trained in the administration of the questionnaire, with discussion of each question and plenty of role play. Some improvements were made to the questionnaire at this stage and additional interviewer instructions were included for clarity.

I personally accompanied the fieldworkers and was present in the sites throughout the course of data collection to provide support, check that the sampling was correctly carried out, and check the quality of the interviews as they were completed. Further quality controls were undertaken during the data processing phase. We had drawn up a control sheet which was used to check the quality of information in each questionnaire. If there were omissions, contradictions or logic problems in the questions that were checked, then a follow up interview was conducted to check the information and clarify where necessary. Where possible, these follow-up interviews were conducted telephonically but in a number of cases it was necessary to revisit the household – either because there were no telephone contact numbers, or because the information was too sensitive or complex to cover in a phone call.

The data were captured in four datasets: one for household-level data, one for all individual level data, one for caregivers and one for children. These were merged in various ways in the analysis, depending on the unit of analysis. For instance, in most

cases the unit of analysis is the child, but individual child data may need to be merged with household data (e.g. type of dwelling) and data about the caregiver (e.g. age and income) to calculate eligibility for the housing subsidy.

The data were subjected to rapid analysis to inform the identification of themes as well as to select respondents for later qualitative phases of the research.

Data analysis was undertaken using Stata8. The statistical information in the following chapters comes from an analysis of this household survey, and is sometimes complemented by national data to show comparisons between site-specific data and national averages.

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews with implementers

A key strength of the site-based research is that it allows for findings on the targeting mechanism to be interpreted in the context of actual implementation. To understand how the targeting mechanism is implemented at local level, it is necessary to conduct research amongst the people who are involved with the implementation of the programme.

Individual interviews were conducted with government officials from housing departments in the respective provinces, as well as other role-players who were involved in supporting or mediating implementation. In total, 22 housing-specific interviews were conducted across the two sites during 2006, and the names and designations of informants are listed in Appendix 3.

The broad focus of these interviews was on the relevant elements of:

a) describing the application of the targeting mechanism

b) describing how priorities and targets are set, and beneficiaries prioritised

c) reflecting on the appropriateness of the targeting mechanism in the local context

d) reflecting on the extent to which it is possible to implement the targeting mechanism properly, and constraints to the effective implementation of the targeting mechanism

e) the roles and relationships between official structures and other support organisations which play a role in mediating or facilitating the roll out of the programme

f) reflecting on how decisions about various aspects of local implementation were made.

Interviews with officials and implementers were conducted in English by the three senior researchers working on the project. I personally conducted all those related to

housing, while my colleagues focused on other programmes such as health, nutrition and school fees.

3.4.3 Qualitative interviews with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries

The study aimed not only to quantify eligibility and access in the context of local-level programme implementation; it also set out to provide insight into who needs the programme, how people access subsidies and why certain targeted beneficiaries are included while others are not. In other words, we wanted to understand the interaction between need and eligibility, and between eligibility and access.

Qualitative interviews allowed for greater depth of enquiry into the ways in which a household / caregiver experiences the subsidy acquisition process, to understand the consequences and distribution of costs within and beyond the household, and to explore obstacles to access.

In addition to the survey and interviews with implementing agencies and other role-players, 44 caregivers were interviewed. It is from these individual interviews that we obtained the stories of people's efforts to access the housing subsidy.

The caregivers were purposively selected from the survey to further explore a range of scenarios with respect to the six programmes. The kinds of questions we set out to explore were: what are the consequences of the targeting mechanism when policy is put into practice? Are the targeted beneficiaries appropriately conceptualised? Does the targeting mechanism ensure that all targeted beneficiaries can access the programme or service? What, if any, are the consequences of the targeting mechanism that may result in unintentional exclusions?

Fairly open-ended interview schedules were drawn up, and the interviewers (myself and two fieldworkers who had been trained in basic qualitative interviewing technique) conducted all the interviews. We started by familiarising ourselves with the selected households by summarising the survey data and drawing kinship diagrams. These provided a starting point for the interviews.

A total of 20 caregivers were interviewed in the urban site and 22 in the rural site. Almost all interviews were conducted in isiXhosa and were recorded digitally. The interviews were then translated and transcribed in English. The interviewers read through the transcripts of their own interviews to check that the translated versions were an accurate reflection of their conversation with the respondent.

The case studies and quotes in the following chapters come mainly from these in-depth interviews.

3.4.4 Focus groups with caregivers and older children

Group interviews are suitable for exploring local understandings of the causes and consequences of poverty, and the identification of particularly vulnerable categories of people and their needs. A few focus groups were convened to elicit collective accounts of the characteristics and challenges of life in the research sites provide a richer context for the evaluation.

A purpose of the qualitative phase was to obtain a collective construct of the local context through a discussion of "life in the area" with a special emphasis on children. This was intended to assist the researchers to develop a richer understanding of the challenges of life in the research sites, from the perspective of (adolescent) children and caregivers.

Five focus groups were convened in each site – three with caregivers and two with high school learners (Grades 10 and 11). Each of the research sites consisted of three distinct areas (the three area types of Makhaza Village 3, Nkanini and Kuyasa in the urban site, and the three villages of Theko Springs, Krakrayo and Nkelekethe in the rural site), and a group of caregivers was convened in each of these. The children's groups were recruited and conducted at local high schools.

Rural site	*Urban site*
1. Theko Springs caregivers	1. Village 3, Makhaza caregivers
2. Nkelekethe caregivers	2. Nkanini caregivers
3. Krakrayo caregivers	3. Kuyasa caregivers
4. Grade 11 boys (Gewlane HS)	4. Grade 10 boys (Chris Hani HS)
5. Grade 11 girls (Gewlane HS)	5. Grade 10 girls (Chris Hani HS)

Unlike the individual caregiver interviews, where respondents were drawn from the surveys, the focus groups were not constructed from survey participants. Caregivers were recruited by the fieldworkers and researchers. There were only three recruiting criteria:

- Participants should be female caregivers, caring for children under 18 years.
- There should be a spread of younger and older participants in each group.
- The group should include caregivers from across the entire area (rather than a cluster of neighbours, for instance).

It was planned that the groups would consist of about 10 respondents – enough to enable collective response, but few enough for the venues to accommodate and the recorders to capture all the voices.

The selection of venues for interviews was based on the requirement that they be central, accessible and non-threatening. In the rural site, all focus groups were held in private homes. Most homesteads in the rural site consist of a cluster of buildings. Focus groups were held in rondawels which were large enough for all the participants to sit comfortably, albeit on the ground.

In the urban site, the houses were generally too small to host focus groups. Most dwellings in the urban site were shacks or subsidy houses which, once divided inside, have tiny rooms. For the Makhaza (Village 3) focus group, a meeting room at the local administrative building was used. In the informal settlement, Nkanini, we used an informal structure in the yard of a crèche. Since there were no public venues or meeting places in Nkanini, this structure of corrugated iron is often used for meetings and is a known location – also used by SANCO for meetings, for parent support groups, and for housing applications. In the new housing development of Kuyasa, there was not a single public space that could be used, and most of the small subsidy houses (single L-shaped rooms with a bathroom) had already been subdivided. We needed to search for a "hall" (a subsidy house consisting of a single-room which had not yet been subdivided). Eventually we found an undivided house and the owner was willing to let us use it as a venue.

Because of the poverty levels in the sites, refreshments took the form of a substantial meal. The research team bought ingredients for a large chicken stew for each focus group, and employed a local resident (usually the host) to cook the food and provide the utensils. In the rural site, cooking happened on fires outside the rondawels where the group discussions were taking place. Refreshments for the Kuyasa focus group had to be prepared at the house over the road because there was no room to cook once the group had assembled in the subsidy house.

The 10 focus groups were all conducted in isiXhosa, and lasted between an hour and two hours each. They were recorded, translated, transcribed and analysed thematically using AtlasTI. An initial coding system was used as a guide, although codes were changed and added along the way. The final coding system consisted of three levels: detailed, data-driven coding; clustering in themes (allowing for overlap/duplication – data-driven and deductive); and clustering in super-families (mainly deductive – organising into programmes and context themes).

3.5 Ethics appraisal

There was careful consideration of the ethical implications of the research – particularly where it relates to children. The ethics guidelines of the Humanities Faculty at the University of Cape Town was used as a general framework, to which the research team added specific ethical considerations and undertakings relevant to this primary research. The methodology and ethics protocol were submitted to the Ethics Committee in the Health Faculty of UCT (the departmental home of the Children's Institute) and received ethics approval.

The main survey questionnaire was carefully translated into isiXhosa. Interviewers were trained in the sensitivities of the consent process, which included informing people about the reason for the research, the way in which they had been randomly selected to participate, and how the data would be treated. Participants were assured that they may terminate the interview at any time, or choose not to answer particular questions if they preferred not to. The consent included a guarantee of anonymity, and for this reason all names in the report and in this thesis have been changed – with the exception of official informants who work in the public sector. In the case of interviews with school principals and staff, as well as hospital and clinic staff, formal approval was obtained from the relevant provincial departments, and informants spoke "on the record". In a few instances official informants requested that we switch off tape recorders and do not quote them directly.

The researchers were careful to ensure, as far as possible, that the research process did not unduly raise people's hopes about accessing programmes or services as a direct consequence of their participation. Fieldworkers were explicit at the outset of each interview that the respondent would not gain anything directly by participating in the research. However, where possible and appropriate, the researchers did provide participants with information that could assist them in accessing the programmes they were eligible for. In the rural site particularly, where public transport is largely unavailable or unaffordable, researchers lifted residents (not only research participants) to schools, clinics and municipal offices whenever possible. In some instances, and at the request of the research participant, researchers contacted social workers or health services to make enquiries on behalf of participants and facilitate access to support. In the case of one household in the rural site – where a single mother was dying of AIDS and had not yet been able to register the birth of her four-year-old son or apply for a child support grant – the researchers contacted the local department of social development office multiple times to follow up. Despite these efforts, no social worker visited the household in the months before the woman died.

3.6 Limits of the research

It was not within the scope of the research to explore the use or diffusion of the benefit (for instance, to determine whether the subsidy house is adequate, or whether it was subsequently sold). The research is focused specifically on the targeting mechanism for original access to the programme – in this case, the housing subsidy. Although access may be mediated by the household, or the benefit may accrue to the caregiver, it was assumed for purposes of this study that if the benefit reached the household or caregiver, then it reached the child.

The impact of the programme (or non-access to the programme) on the child's quality of life does not fall within the scope of this study. Rather, it focuses on how effectively these programmes are targeted. Similarly, the research identifies gaps and exclusions in the targeting of programmes, but does not draw conclusions about the consequences of failure to access programmes.

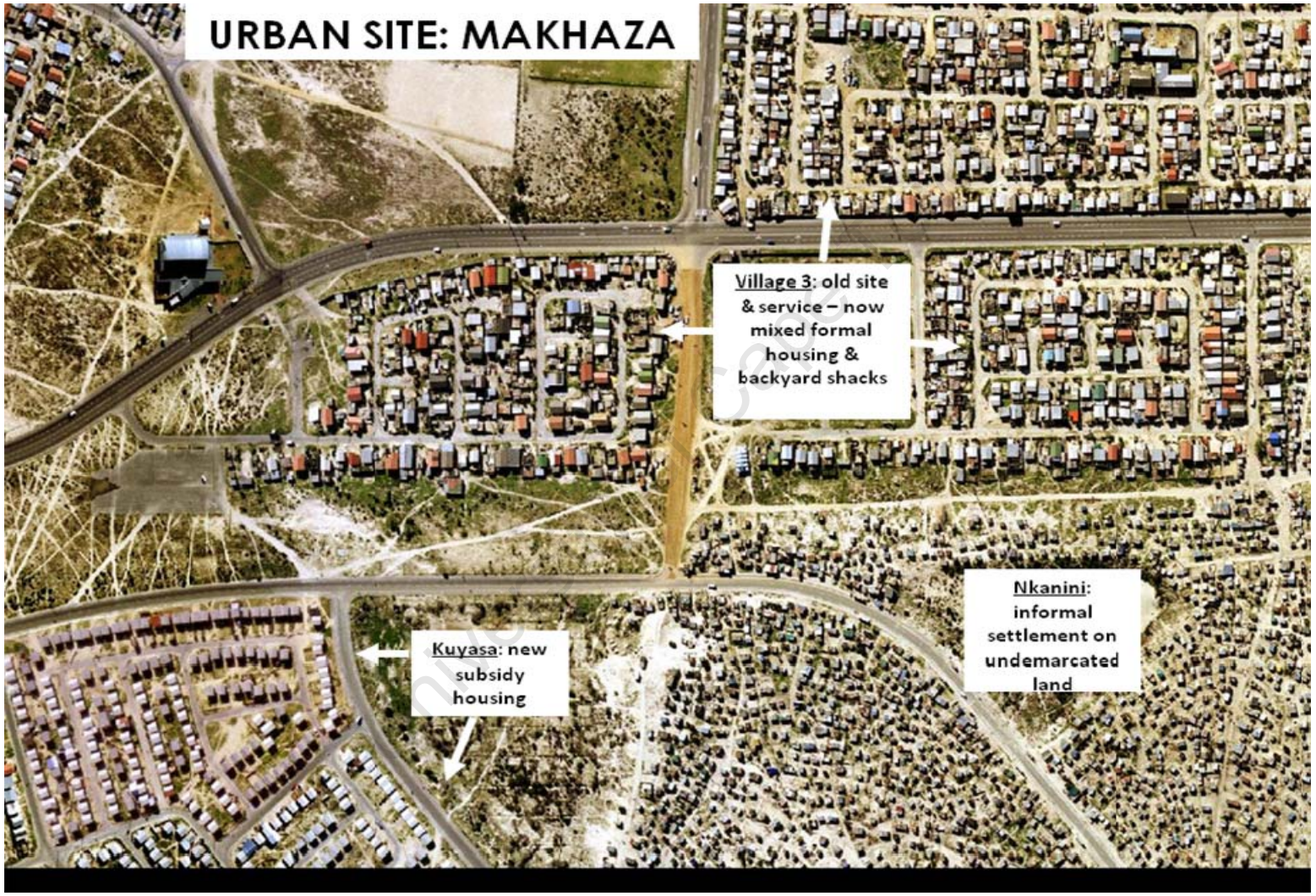
The two research sites in which the primary research is conducted are illustrative, but cannot be regarded as representative of a province or a type of area, and the research juxtaposes but does not provide a comparative analysis of urban and rural areas. The reason for conducting research in two different contexts is not for purposes of comparison or generalisation, but simply to throw it open to a wider range of possibilities, and to enable exploration of a broader range of implementation issues and consequences than might emerge in a single site.

Chapter 4 Site profiles

The urban site is metropolitan, in the Western Cape, and incorporates three adjacent areas on the edge of Khayelitsha: a formal (originally site-and-service) area in Makhaza (Village 3), the informal settlement of Nkanini and the new subsidy housing project at Kuyasa. This allowed me to investigate targeting in the context of an area with rapid population influx, where there is relatively easy access to service points and where the housing subsidy programme is prioritized as part of the Urban Renewal Strategy.

The rural site is in the Eastern Cape, and consists of three adjacent rural villages (Theko Springs, Krakrayo and Nkelekethe) which constitute the Theko Springs administrative area, falling under the Centani magisterial district, Amatole. The nearest town is Butterworth, about 35km away. This allows us to investigate targeting in the context of a rural population, most of which has been resettled or experienced dispossession of land at some stage, either through forced removals or through the "betterment schemes" in the former Transkei, and where service delivery is poor or non-existent.

The sites are described in more detail below.


URBAN SITE: MAKHAZA
Village 3: old site & service – now mixed formal housing & backyard shacks
Nkanini: informal settlement on undemarcated land
Kuyasa: new subsidy housing

4.1 Urban site: Khayelitsha (Makhaza Village 3, Nkanini, Kuyasa)

Makhaza is the product of apartheid urban planning and post-apartheid urban migration. The deliberate under-supply of urban housing under apartheid resulted in overcrowding in many of the most densely populated and poorly serviced areas such as Crossroads and Nyanga. By the 1980s, urban housing was in crisis and the anti-apartheid struggle was reaching its height – with organised civil disobedience campaigns, including widespread bond and rent boycotts.

At this time, Makhaza was still vacant land bordering the sand dunes at the edge of False Bay, but Cape Town's townships were expanding rapidly. The state's policy of under-providing houses had resulted in massive overcrowding of townships, and informal dwellings proliferated in backyards and on surrounding vacant land. The establishment of Khayelitsha as a black township was announced in 1983, with development of the first sites beginning almost immediately. (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Japha & Huchzermeyer, 1995)At the same time, housing development in other townships (closer to the city) was halted. Effectively, the creation of Khayelitsa was a move to entrench segregation by consolidating the black urban population into a single township on the periphery: "Moving people into Khayelitsha would help to bring Cape Town nearer to the idea of the apartheid city. It would serve to reduce the number of race islands and consolidate black urban residents into a single, peripherally located residential area, potentially large enough to contain population explosion" (Cook, 1986:60).

Khayelitsha was planned according to a 'super-block' structure with separate 'towns, each consisting of four sub-sections or 'villages' (Huchzermeyer, 2003). The early transit camps (such as Site C) and core housing development during the 1980's were followed by site and service schemes during the 1990's. These were the manifestation of the government's policy of "orderly urbanisation", aimed at introducing order and control to urban residential areas and addressing the chaos of informal settlements. The Independent Development Trust (IDT) was established with a capital investment of R2 billion from government to administer the development and allocation of over 100 000 sites in 108 areas over a period of four years, with a once-off subsidy of R7 500 per site to pay for the infrastructure. The site-and-service developments (sometimes referred to as "toilet towns" because they typically began with geometrically arranged toilets on open land) were the earliest form of the subsidy-linked housing scheme – a device which was to become a key feature of the new government's housing policy.

The township of Makhaza (Town 3) began in the early 1990's as one of the early site and service schemes in which beneficiaries received freehold title to serviced plots. The scheme initially consisted of about 1500 sites and targeted informal households from other parts of Khayelitsha. Village 3 is one of three sections that make up

Makhaza (Villages 3, 4 and 5). The layout plan shows just over 3 500 sites in Village 3, many of which have been already been upgraded through consolidation subsidies and have formal dwellings on the properties. The area is severely overcrowded, with small properties and many backyard shacks

Most of the formal houses in Makhaza Village 3 have the consistent square shape of standard subsidy houses. Few have been plastered or painted, so the effect is of rows of grey cement dwellings lining the roads. Most sites still have a cement toilet structure at the front corner of the property, with a tap attached to the outside wall. Some households have been able to invest in upgrading their properties, and have installed internal bathrooms. There is a formal road infrastructure with a repeated design of key-hole shaped cul-de-sacs off the main roads. This provides spaces away from the traffic where children can play safely.

A similar layout has been used in Kuyasa, an adjacent housing development which was started in 2003. The main reason for this development was to provide alternative accommodation for informal households that were to be moved from Site C, originally established as a transit camp at the other end of Khayelitsha, in order to make room for in situ upgrading of Site C. Ostensibly part of a broader de-densification and housing development programme, the project shipped in "outsiders" (people who were not from Makhaza) and benefitted very few local households despite problems of informality and overcrowding in the immediate area. When the research commenced, this project was still under construction, with only the phase 1 houses completed. Hundreds more were built during the research period.

Adjacent to Makhaza and Kuyasa, the informal settlement of Nkanini is built entirely on white sea-sand. Originally clustered along the Ntlazane road adjacent to Village 3, the shacks now extend right up the hill towards Baden Powell Drive, which runs to the sea. As one ascends the hill, the soft white sand is whipped up by the wind. There is no shade and nothing grows.

Nkanini started with the illegal invasion of land, first occupied in 2002, when 12 households erected shacks on the vacant land near the dunes that separate the historically black township of Makhaza from Macassar (the coloured township outside Somerset West). Nkanini's rapid growth as an informal settlement has been enmeshed in local politics. Its very establishment by the early settlers, shortly before the 2004 elections, was implicitly sanctioned by the metropolitan council – at that time a coalition controlled by the ANC – which, rather than evicting the illegal occupiers, embarked on a house-to-house campaign to register voters. This, in a sense, legitimised the informal settlement by giving the occupiers an 'address' as a voting constituency. In mid-2004 the Land Invasion Officer undertook a count of the shacks, which were then marked with an X and allocated a number in red spray-paint on the outer wall or door. At that time, he recorded 6 500 shacks, and estimated that the

number would have reached at least 8 500 by the time the research got under way in September 2005. By the end of 2005, the number of shacks was estimated by the Community Development Forum to be closer to 14 000 and towards the end of 2006 members of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) committee for Nkanini estimated that there were closer to 20 000 shacks.

The name "Nkanini" literally means "by force", a reference to the non-negotiable attitude with which the land was settled. Many of the early settlers were residents from Makhaza, where the formal houses and backyard shacks could no longer accommodate the growing population. Later, the land invasion gathered speed as people from across the Cape Flats and beyond realised that despite threats of eviction, people were not being removed from the land. On the contrary, some basic communal services were provided, and residents had access to the schools and clinics that served the neighbouring formal areas of Makhaza and Harare and later, the new residential development of Kuyasa.

> "Everyday, there are some new people… sometimes they come during the night while we sleep, then you see: oh, there are ten shacks here which you didn't know. Some of them come from far away – can you believe, from Hermanus, from Kraaifontein, from Langa, all over… Last year they [the council] said we must count because they want to know how many people are here, how many shacks are here. We got 15 000, but now there's new, new, new everyday…. If the people are coming here, they just talk with the community leaders… like us, and then we tell them: no, you can put your shack here because I can't stop you….
> *[SANCO chair, Nkanini, urban site – own interview]*

When researchers returned for follow-up interviews with households six months after the survey, the shack numbers, which previously followed a continuous order, appeared quite random – apparently as a result of occupants moving their shacks to others parts of the settlement, or re-using materials to construct new shacks. The area was noticeably more dense, and many new (un-numbered) shacks filled the spaces between older (numbered) dwellings.

Nkanini is divided by a single tarred road, along which communal toilets are clustered in groups of five at regular intervals. These are the only form of sanitation for the entire settlement, and those who live far from the road either have to walk far to use the toilets, or else use an unserviced bucket system (as opposed to a bucket system administered and serviced by the municipality) or the rapidly diminishing bush at the edges of the settlement. Most of the communal toilets have been locked with padlocks, and residents must ask at nearby houses or spaza shops to use the keys. The toilets have a manual flush system, which means that the user must collect water from a nearby communal tap and carry it back to the toilet in order to flush. A member of the community development forum serving on the water committee for Khayelitsha describes the maintenance of services as being a real problem. Many of the toilets are dysfunctional – drains are blocked or broken, so that sewerage spills out on the pavement. Sewerage bubbled out of an open manhole in the middle of the road.

Communal taps are interspersed along the road, and a few are placed at occasional intervals through the site. There is no formal electricity supply, but many households have illegal connections taken from the formal houses nearby. Electric wires criss-cross the road that marks the border between Nkanini and Kuyasa and run along the sandy paths throughout the settlement.

There is no drainage system in the settlement, a source of serious concern about environmental health. Households dig holes in the sand outside their dwellings in order to dispose of liquid waste such as dirty water from washing and laundry, and in the absence of nearby sanitation, children use shallow pits dug into the sand. As one mother explained, when young children need to go to the toilet, they need to go immediately – you cannot walk all the way down to the road. It is also considered unsafe for children to go alone, or for anyone to go alone at night.

The whole of Makhaza is served by three primary schools, three secondary schools and three clinics. These are also used by the residents of Nkanini and Kuyasa, as well as from further away – Mfuleni, Delft and other informal settlements – so that schools have become over-subscribed, and people complain of long waiting times at the clinics. A new clinic was built in the Kuyasa housing development and opened after the phase one houses were completed. Most primary school age children from Kuyasa attend Kuyasa Primary School nearby – a school which preceded the housing development and also serves children from Harare and other sections of Khayelitsha.

Makhaza villages 3 and 5 are divided by Lansdowne Road, lined with containers and wooden wendy houses selling everything from building materials to fruit to telephone services. The main high school, Chris Hani Secondary, is situated here. Across the road is the community centre (Desmond Tutu Recreation Centre) and a very well maintained public library (Naeema Isaacs Library) which provides a quiet, clean study space for learners and regularly hosts workshops and talks on the weekends. Informal traders lay out their goods – clothing, shoes, fruit, chips and sweets, cell phone accessories – on the pavement outside. The busiest trading days are when social grants are paid out at the community centre. Then money-lenders bring their chairs and line the entrance to the community hall next to the library, collecting payments from the social grant beneficiaries as soon as they're past the gun-carrying security guards at the checkpoint.

Behind the community hall, further along Lansdowne Road, is a shopping centre which serves the entire area. It includes a large Checkers supermarket, a few clothing shops, a furniture store, a hardware shop, a pie shop and banking machines. There is a small business development advice centre which also provides basic business services like printing and faxing. A Johannesburg-based businessman bought the shopping centre and, in 2006, started construction of a whole new section to accommodate

shops and offices. This would make the Makhaza Centre one of the main commercial hubs in Khayelitsha.

Khayelitsha was identified as a node for the Presidential Urban Renewal Programme. The Cape Town Integrated Development Plan for 2004/05 identified the key challenges facing Khayelitsha as being "unemployment, crime, health, education, lack of improved services, sustainable housing development, social and economic integration and support for vulnerable groups e.g. youth, women and disabled." Poverty levels are high throughout the area – at the time of the 2001 census, 76% of the population in this area lived on a per capita income of less than R400 per month. The City of Cape Town, acknowledging that a third of the city's population was living below the subsistence level, developed an indigent tariff policy for services. The differential tariff structure enables cross-subsidisation so that free basic services can be provided to households with little or no income.

RURAL SITE: THEKO SPRINGS – 3 VILLAGES

4.2 Rural site: Centani (Theko Springs, Krakrayo, Nkelekethe)[12]

Theko Springs is in the Mnquma local municipality, which falls under the Amatole District Municipality (ADM). In terms of electoral boundaries, it is part of Ward 10, which has just over 3 000 registered voters and an ANC majority in the 2004 and 2009 national elections. ADM has taken on all the functions of the local municipality, which had almost no capacity to deliver services to rural villages, and was even struggling to provide basic services to the town of Butterworth at the time of the research.

Theko Springs was established in 1972 (before Transkei "independence"), when rural households scattered over an area called Zwelidala were moved by the apartheid government as part of its betterment planning strategy which attempted to rationalise land use by concentrating scattered rural households into villages. Betterment planning was justified as a measure to improve agricultural production and reduce environmental damage, but there was little consideration for the social and political consequences of uprooting families. Originally, the new villages at Theko Springs, Krakrayo and Nkelekethe were quite sparse, and each household had a substantial piece of land. Later, according to Mr Dyantyi, *Nkosi* or traditional leader for the area, people were displaced from a nearby farm and were allocated land where they could stay in the villages. The original land on which the community's homesteads were scattered is now communal land used for grazing and fields.

The current *Nkosi's* father, Elias Dyantyi, was the hereditary chief of the area until shortly before the community was relocated. Then followed a succession of problematic tenures. Elias' son, Sicelo, took over leadership until 1983, when he was effectively fired by the government after some community members expressed dissatisfaction with his leadership. The community then appointed someone from outside the Dyantyi family in his place – a man called Mlungwana Qhampa – who served from 1984 to 1987.

After Qhampa, the leadership was returned to the Dyantyi family. However, another powerful family called Balfour contested the position. With government support, the community held an election in which Dyantyi, the current *Nkosi*, won by a two-thirds majority. He took over leadership in 1989 and has been in that position ever since. The power struggle between the Dyantyi and Balfour families has continued over the years, however, and the initiation of many local development projects – including the agricultural project and subsidised housing project – has been part of the struggle.

There is virtually no employment for the population, and most households survive mainly on social grants. Some receive small remittances from family members working in cities, and some manage a bit of small-scale subsistence agriculture.

[12] This section draws directly on a part of the report that I co-authored with Annie Leatt

Old, empty and abandoned housing is everywhere across the three villages. When someone dies or leaves the area, their house is often left to decay. Mud-brick houses quickly return to the earth – there are small rings of rubble or grassy mounds marking the places where houses had stood. There is no shortage of housing in Theko Springs.

Theko Springs derives its name from the natural springs which bubble out of the ground and trickle into small pools used by people and animals. The fact that there is a natural water supply, no matter how inadequate, has meant that delivery of basic water has not been a priority for local government.

Electricity was installed in some of the houses in Theko Springs in 2000. These are mostly close to the main road. According to Mr Dyantyi, it was decided that Theko Springs' households should receive electricity before the other two villages. There were two reasons for this decision. First, there were too few households in Nkelekethe, whereas Theko Springs had enough households to justify the installation project. Second, there was the issue of conflict with traditional beliefs. Mr Dyantyi explained that many people believe that the ancestors will leave if electricity is installed in their houses. He felt that electricity should therefore be installed in his own home and the houses closer to him, and that others would then realise that the ancestors would not be chased away. Electricity could then be rolled out to other households in the next phase. The electricity works on a pre-paid meter system, but few households in the Means to Live survey reported spending enough money on electricity to supply their lights and fridges and cooking implements. The installation is also often precarious and dangerous, with complicated extension systems and even exposed wires within dwellings.

There are no sanitation services in Theko Springs. The housing subsidy development envisaged the provision of ventilated improved pit (VIP) toilets[13] which never materialised. While a few residents have dug their own pit latrines and bought zinc or ready-made top structures, the majority use buckets, open veld or the ruins of old buildings for their facilities. These service failures bring with them all the difficulties of a lack of privacy, poor sanitation, poor water quality, health risks and loss of dignity.

> We failed to build toilets for ourselves. If the government could build them for us, even if it's an outside toilet… because we struggle so much when it comes to toilets. It's really bad, we squat in the field where everyone can see - that's not civilised. And also when you do that, there are people who are fetching water down there… so let me say when it rains that dirt goes down there, we drink water that is not clean… *[Mother, Nkelekethe, rural site]*.

The schools and the agricultural support centre are the only places with formal pit latrine structures, but these are of the "unimproved" variety in that they are not

[13] This is the minimum requirement for "adequate sanitation"

ventilated, and are therefore considered inadequate by the housing norms and standards.

There is a communal agricultural project, Amagwelane, which has been funded by the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) – and this provides some employment for residents of the Theko Springs village on a rotational basis. The co-ordinator of the project, a local volunteer, has been particularly effective at making contact with farmers and government departments to get support for the project. He organised for the loan of a tractor from a commercial farmer, and the Department of Labour sent an official from Middleberg to demonstrate ploughing techniques.

There is a primary school in Nkelekethe, and two junior secondary schools – one in Theko Springs and one in Krakrayo. Two of these three schools were initiated and built with labour and contributions from local residents. The primary school at Nkelekethe started as rondavels, and was called Dyantyi "because we wanted our children to know that when the Dyantyi family was in power, there was progress" [Mr Dyantyi].

Most children are enrolled in school, and caregivers go to great lengths to ensure that their children have uniforms, have paid their fees, and have resources for stationery and school outings. Despite fairly high enrolment figures (95% of children in the survey were reported to be at school), regular school attendance appears to be much lower. It is not unusual to see children outside school during school hours, and during the research period it became clear that some schools quite often dismissed children from their classrooms well before noon. The schools are poorly equipped, with the school in Nkelekethe in particular having no water supply, no ceilings, broken chairs and windows, and no toys or educational materials for the younger students.

There is no high school at all in the three villages. Many of the older children go to high school in Msinsana, on a village two hill-tops away. This entails crossing the river since there is no bridge. During winter this is fairly easy, but when the summer rains come (coinciding with the year-end exams), this river is often impassable. Pupils have lost many books in the water, their uniforms get wet, and when the rains are heavy, children lose days of school at a time because they cannot get through. The Nkosi regards the construction of a bridge for safe crossing as one of their most pressing needs, but also points out that the money for a bridge could be better used to build a local high school. Planners at the district municipality had no knowledge of the need for a bridge until this was raised by researchers.

There is no clinic in any of the three villages. The nearest clinic, Tutura, is a taxi ride or two-hour walk away from Theko Springs. There was once a clinic operating in Theko Springs in a structure built by the community, and clinic nurses, medicines and equipment were supplied from Tafalofefe Hospital. However, the building was not

structurally sound and the nurses felt it was unsafe. The clinic was closed many years ago. Residents collected money to build a new clinic, and a piece of land was identified for it. There was a prolonged disagreement between Dyantyi and Balfour followers over the location of a clinic, but eventually Balfour relented. In 1997, the Department of Land Affairs granted permission to use the site for a clinic, and there was an agreement with the Department of Health that a clinic would be established. This has still not happened.

In the last two months of the research, two boys were murdered. A picture of a divided community emerged. This was suddenly apparent when the research team were conducting focus groups in Theko Springs, and people invited from one side of the road explained that they couldn't attend a group discussion on the other side of the road. The split was attributed mainly to gangsterism among boys of the village. Those on the southern side of the road could not cross to the northern side, and vice versa. Almost none of the older boys from the southern side were still attending the high school to the north of the village. Although community members described this split as starting with boys, it affected everybody, and even adults did not feel that they could cross the road safely. Community members talked about alcohol as being a problem. Teenagers started drinking early, often in the context of initiation ceremonies.

The Amatole District Municipality commissioned a group of architects in King Williams Town to draw up plans for a community hall to be built in Theko Springs. This could be an important facility for youth activities, as well as for the various committees involved in agricultural and housing development projects. The plans show a hall with a stage, a boxing area and internal change-room, a separate office and kitchen, and two water tanks[14].

[14] On my recent return visit to the area, I found that the hall had been completed. I was to have met with some members of the community in it, but instead we took chairs outside – the combination of cement block walls and zinc roof without any insulation or ceiling produced acoustics with such tremendous echo that it was impossible to hear one another speak. We could talk more easily in the wind outside, with the zinc doors to the three new pit latrines flapping and banging a few metres away.

Chapter 5 Determining eligibility

Objective: to determine the eligible population through a child-centred analysis

The study sets out to evaluate the Housing Subsidy Scheme – and specifically its targeting mechanism – from a child perspective, in the context of two sites. In this chapter I describe and evaluate the conceptualisation of the targeting component – i.e. who is eligible. The next chapter describes and evaluates the implementation of the targeting mechanism by assessing the extent to which eligible people (and households) are reached. Finally, I consider the consequences for targeted beneficiaries in the context of local implementation: how poor children (via their caregivers) are able to claim the subsidy to which they are entitled, or what prevents them from doing so.

5.1 Data analysis and discussion

Children cannot legally be home-owners or apply for subsidies, but they are implicitly included in the conceptualisation of the subsidy scheme in that it revolves around the household construct, or family unit, in which children are defined as dependants. A number of assumptions had to be made in order to calculate eligibility for the housing subsidy from the perspective of children.

First, to calculate a child-centred eligibility estimate, it is necessary to define a caregiver through whom, hypothetically, the child would gain access to subsidised housing. This would not necessarily be the head of the household, or even the same caregiver for all children within a household – the effect of the housing subsidy might be to enable the establishment of a breakaway household. For this reason, eligibility has been calculated separately where different children have different caregivers within the same household.

Second, one must determine whether each child's caregiver is eligible for the subsidy, by applying the eligibility criteria outlined in Chapter 2. This includes calculating the joint income of the identified caregiver and her/his spouse or partner to determine whether they pass the means test. It is necessary to establish whether the caregiver has ever previously owned a property or received a housing or land subsidy, in order to determine whether they meet the criteria of first-time property owners. In addition, one must check that both the caregiver and spouse/partner comply with the remaining eligibility criteria relating to citizenship and age.

In the sections below, I outline the eligibility analysis step by step, and discuss the possibilities and limitations of replicating this process through secondary analysis of national household survey datasets.

5.1.1 Age eligibility

A requirement of the Housing Subsidy Scheme is that applicants must have capacity to contract. Chapter two of the National Housing Code specifies that beneficiaries of the housing subsidy must be at least 21 years old – since this is historically the age at which South Africans reached majority (official adulthood) and was also the age of capacity to contract and litigate (for instance, to enter into a contract with a municipality to access municipal services). However, when read with Section 17 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (which was passed into law after the data collection period), the age of majority is now reduced to 18 years, from which age people have capacity of contract (Mahery & Proudlock, 2008). The change in the age of majority is still not reflected in the National Housing Code, although the wording of the Housing Code suggests that this may be an oversight. The general Rules under Section 2.2.1(c) state that to be eligible for a housing subsidy a person must be "Competent to contract: he or she is legally competent to contract (i.e. over 21 years of age or married or divorced and of sound mind)."[15] The minimum age is therefore not explicitly stated as 21, but is linked to the age of majority, or competence to contract. In effect, applicants are still required to be over 21 years.

If amended, a change in the minimum eligible age for the housing subsidy would address a limitation in the legal situation, where people between the ages of 18 and 21 are neither children nor adults of qualifying age. This window of exclusion affects, for example, a single mother under the age of 21, unless she has a partner over the age of 21. In the sample, 34 children had caregivers who were under 21 years, most of whom were the children's biological mothers. This amounted to 4% of children in the urban site, and 2% of children in the rural site who were excluded because their caregivers did not fall within the target age group. Only four of these caregivers had partners who were above the age of legal competence. In six cases, the age of the primary caregiver was unknown. However, an examination of the ages of their children, and the relationship between the caregivers and their children shows that all of them are biological mothers, and in all but one case the age differential between mother and child suggests that the mother must be over 21 years. At this stage, then, 97% of surveyed children were found to be potentially eligible via their caregivers.

According to data published by Statistics South Africa, just over three million people fall into the age group 18 to 21 years.[16] The population would include a large number of young people who are school-leavers, who are not income-earners or home-owners

[15] http://www.housing.gov.za/ viewed January 2010.
[16] Own analysis of General Household Survey 2008.

in their own right – in other words, a population that is highly likely to fulfill the requirements relating to income and property ownership irrespective of their socio-economic background. However, the subsidy scheme is not simply a home-establishment grant for young adults; the project-linked subsidy in particular is conceptualised as a grant for households or families who are unable to house themselves. This is why applicants are required either to be co-habiting with a spouse or partner, or have dependants.

5.1.2 Marital status & cohabitation

Applicants should have dependants and/or be married or "habitually cohabiting" with a partner. Both civil and customary law marriages are recognised, and it is specified that men may record more than one wife on the application form. It is nonsensical, however, for the applicant to declare more partners than is necessary, because once a woman is recorded as a partner, she is treated as co-applicant and subsequently excluded from accessing further housing or land subsidies.

No minimum requirements are specified for cohabitation in the case of unmarried partners. Thus it is largely the decision of cohabiting partners whether they want to declare themselves as a couple for purposes of accessing the housing subsidy. It would be perfectly possible to enter into or even feign a partnership in order to submit a subsidy application, since the nature of the partnership is neither qualified nor verified. However this is risky, since both parties are "bound to the subsidy" but subsequent dissolution of the relationship may cause one partner to lose access to the house and also to further housing assistance through the subsidy, since a person may only qualify once. Women stand greatest risk of losing out in this way.

An official in the Western Cape provincial department described a scenario in which a man coerces or forces his girlfriend or a female acquaintance to co-sign the application form, but later expels her (and her children) from the house. In this scenario, although the woman technically holds joint legal rights to the property (since the property is transferred into both names), it is extremely difficult, and sometimes too intimidating, for women in this situation either to confront the man or to enter a legal process to regain her share of the house.

Another factor which limits women's (and children's) property rights is that, although in terms of the policy the transfer documentation is drafted in both names, in practice this has not always been the case. The Women's Legal Centre investigated a number of cases where conveyancers recorded only the male partner's name on the title deed, and omitted the woman's name (interview with Nomboniso Gasa, reported in Hall, 2005). In these instances, women who were married under civil law had some protection under the Matrimonial Property Act, although the cost of civil proceedings may be prohibitively expensive for poor women. Those who were unmarried, or who

were married under customary or religious law, had little recourse. Either way, women who apply jointly for housing subsidies face some risk of being left without the house, and without the prospect of qualifying for a further subsidy.

In the primary research it was found that only 40% of the 1 179 surveyed children had caregivers who had spouses or partners. The incomes of these partners, as reported by caregivers, were included in means test calculations.

5.1.3 Defining "dependants"

If an applicant is neither married nor cohabiting, then the qualifying criteria demand that there must be at least one dependant. According to Departmental guidelines (Department of Housing, 2005), "a financial dependent refers to any person who is financially dependent on the subsidy applicant and, who resides permanently with the housing subsidy applicant. Financial dependents therefore include any, or a combination, of the following persons residing permanently with the subsidy applicant:

i] Biological parents or parents-in-law;
ii] Biological grandparents or grandparents-in-law;
iii] Brothers/sisters under the age of eighteen years or, if older, who are proven financially dependent on the applicant;
iv] Children under the age of eighteen years, i.e.
   a) Grand children;
   b) Adopted children;
   c) Foster children;
   d) Biological children;
   e) Children over the age of eighteen years who are still studying and who are financially dependent on the applicant; and
v] extended family members who are permanently residing with the applicant due, for example, to health problems and who are therefore financially dependent on the housing subsidy applicant."

Clearly, dependants are not envisaged as being limited to children – although the housing structures typical of the subsidy scheme are certainly not designed to accommodate extended families. However, this research is primarily concerned with children and the circumstances in which they live. The sample consists of households with children, whose eligibility is determined via their caregiver. Therefore all the surveyed caregivers, by definition, had dependants (the survey did not record households where adults had no child dependants).

But what of the (un-surveyed) parents who are living apart from their children? Ninety percent of children in the urban site were living with their biological mother at the time of the survey, while some of the mothers also had other children who were not present in the household. It is reasonable to assume that there are many more urban mothers who are living without their children. The most comprehensive household data at ward level is found in the national Census of 2001, which shows

that 38% of households in the urban site do not have any resident children.[17] However, this does not necessarily mean that adults living in these households do not have children, or would not want their children to be living with them. This is a crucial point from the perspective of housing policy, because it risks excluding single mothers who are living separately from their children, including those who have chosen to do so precisely because they are unable to access adequate housing.

While 96% of children surveyed in the rural site had a mother who was alive, only 65% were living with their own mother. This means that about a third of the rural children had a mother who was living separately, somewhere else. Some grandmothers in the rural site described their adult children's urban homes as being temporary in nature – shacks in informal areas, or arrangements to stay in the homes of extended family or relatives of community members. These were sometimes described as inappropriate or unsafe environments for children to live, so that children had remained in the rural site.

National data show that a quarter (26%) of all children in South Africa do not live with their biological mothers, but only 7% of children are maternal orphans in that they do not have biological mothers who are known to be living. The other 19% have living mothers who are staying elsewhere. The proportion of children living only with their fathers is negligible – less than 3% of children – compared with 40% of children who live only with their mother. In terms of household and care arrangements, most children who live separately from their mothers are in a similar situation to children whose mothers have died: they are living with grandmothers, aunts, older siblings, other relatives and carers.

Table 1 Maternal co-residence and orphanhood, 2006

Province	Children not living with mother		Mother deceased or unknown		Mother living elsewhere	
	N (weighted)	%	N (weighted)	%	N (weighted)	%
Eastern Cape	1,085,400	34.1	253,893	8.0	831,507	26.1
Free State	312,102	27.9	106,106	9.5	205,996	18.4
Gauteng	413,885	15.2	122,388	4.5	291,497	10.7
KwaZulu Natal	1,137,314	29.8	373,595	9.8	763,719	20.0
Limpopo	802,142	30.2	137,215	5.2	664,927	25.0
Mpumalanga	399,295	28.5	110,599	7.9	288,696	20.6
North West	347,091	24.3	108,375	7.6	238,716	16.7
Northern Cape	79,684	23.1	20,612	6.0	59,072	17.2
Western Cape	231,232	14.7	54,414	3.5	176,818	11.3
National	**4,808,146**	**26.4**	**1,287,198**	**7.1**	**3,520,948**	**19.3**

Source: GHS 2006; author's analysis

[17] Data extracted from Census 2002 by Statistics South Africa at author's request.

As shown in Table 1 above, provinces with high proportions of children living apart from their mothers are those with large rural populations: children who live in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Mpumalanga are more likely to live apart from their mothers, probably because their mothers have left these areas to work in the large cities of the country. Children who live in Gauteng and the Western Cape – provinces with a high proportion of urban households, and sites of in-migration – are more likely to be staying with their mothers (Meintjes, 2009).

The design of the housing subsidy scheme, with its inclusion of dependants in the eligibility criteria, is strongly oriented towards the concept of the family. This is in keeping with the family-based approach to the development of human settlements codified as "best practice" in the Habitat Agenda, 1996, and in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, it is clear that many children do not live in nuclear families.

From the perspective of mothers, can absent children (living elsewhere) be counted as dependents for the housing subsidy? This is an important question for the subsidy scheme, since the allocation of housing subsidies to parents living apart from their children could enable the (re)unification of families. It is not entirely clear how the criteria relating to dependants are implemented nationally, but it appears that, in the Western Cape at least, the requirement for "proven financial dependents" is interpreted to mean that the dependants must be residing with the applicant at the time of the application. Thus in a case where a single mother wants to apply for a housing subsidy, "if her children are not residing with her then she will be viewed as single and without dependants" (pers comm.: Deputy Director, Subsidies Section, Department of Local Government & Housing, Western Cape).

This creates a catch-22: by definition, single mothers who do not have an adequate house and are living apart from their children cannot qualify for a housing subsidy and so access a home to which they can bring their children. Rather, a single mother living in inadequate housing who wanted to apply for a subsidy house to accommodate children would need to first bring her children to live with her in order to apply for the subsidy. But given the spatial targeting of the housing subsidy, and the notoriously long waiting lists for individual subsidies (which have now been discontinued in many of the provinces), there is little guarantee that the caregiver and her children would succeed in obtaining a formal house within a reasonable period of time. The consequence for children may be a deterioration in the quality of their living environments as well as the logistical and emotional challenges of changing schools, the risk of interrupting grant payments and even the possibility of losing access to child grants altogether due to difficulties in transferring grants across paypoints and provinces.

One possible way around this problem would be for the caregiver to submit a joint subsidy application with a partner or someone she nominates as a partner for purposes of securing a subsidy, and then to move the children only if and when the house is secured. However, as discussed above, perverse measures such as these also run the risk of undermining women's property rights.

The cross-cutting question here is whether a poverty alleviation programme addresses the status quo, or aims to correct the effects of previous policies which discriminated against poor (and predominantly African) children. From a child's perspective, the housing subsidy is targeted at the household where the child is currently living, and so the eligibility system maintains the status quo and even reproduces apartheid-style inequalities and fragmentation. A more progressive approach may be for it to target the potential future home of the child to enable movement of children so that strategic choices can be made about children's co-residence with adults, the environments in which they live, access to social infrastructure and so on. In this way, the housing policy would start to redress the historical separation of families which resulted from the migrant labour system, apartheid legislation on population movement and the structural under-provisioning of housing in urban areas.

5.1.4 The means test

A simple (unverified) means test is used to determine whether an applicant for a housing subsidy is eligible. In its conceptualisation, the Housing Subsidy Scheme targets a fairly broad population, with the income threshold set higher than that for the child support grant for example. While the maximum threshold for the CSG was R1 200 per month at the time of the research (and increased to R2 400 per month in 2009), the threshold for the maximum housing subsidy had been set at R1 500 in 1994, and was then increased to R3 500 in 2005.

Income data in the General Household Survey provides a rough sense of poverty levels. In the 2007 national survey, nearly 80% of children lived in households with a monthly income below or equal to R3 500 (own analysis from General Household Survey 2007, Statistics South Africa, 2008).

Income levels are historically skewed, and there is still enormous racial and gender inequality. If one delineates by race, then 86% of children residing in households headed by a black African, have monthly household expenditure below the R3 500 poverty line. This is, in effect, a conservative estimate for purposes of the housing subsidy, being based on household expenditure – whereas the housing subsidy scheme only takes into account the income of the applicant (defined here as the child's main caregiver) and his/her partner. In theory, the housing subsidy scheme also enables young adults to move out of their parental homes – in which case the income of the parents would be excluded from eligibility calculations. It is not possible to use the

national data to replicate these scenarios as we do in the primary research, but the evidence is sufficient to show that only a small proportion of the child population – certainly less than the top quintile – would be excluded from the housing subsidy because their caregivers fail the means test.

In the primary research, a total of 21 children were rendered ineligible because the joint income of their caregiver and partner was over R3 500. These children lived in eight households – five in the urban site and three in the rural site. At this stage, a total of 55 children were counted as ineligible – 34 because their caregiver had not reached the age of majority, and 21 because they failed the means test. There was no overlap between these two categories: those whose caregivers were too young to apply passed the means teat, and caregivers whose incomes were above the threshold were over 21 years.

A number of ambiguities needed to be considered in replicating the means test.

Defining partnerships for joint income

The means test is based on the joint income of the applicant and his/her spouse or permanent partner with whom the applicant is cohabiting. As discussed above, nowhere is it specified how long people must have lived together to constitute a "permanent" partnership or how much of their time partners should spend in the household to be regarded as "cohabiting".

In replicating the means test for purposes of analysis, I have simply used "living together with partner" to mean a permanent partnership. But many partners – particularly in the rural site – are not regularly present in the household because they work elsewhere. While some unmarried people reported having permanent relationships, some only see their partners once a month or a couple of times a year. Similarly, some women in the rural site saw their migrant husbands only once or twice a year, for instance in December or when there was a major event such as a funeral. A number of female caregivers interviewed in the survey were unable to say with certainty what their (absent) spouse was earning.

Inclusion of the social wage in the means test

The National Housing Code is unclear about exactly what types of income should be taken into account when applying the means test for the housing subsidy scheme, except to state that "joint monthly income" includes income from self employment. However, the subsidy application form explicitly includes income from pensions and disability grants in the income calculation (see Figure 5 below). An official who deals with subsidies in the Western Cape provincial department confirmed that income from pensions and disability grants is included in the total income calculations, but that child support grants are not included.

Figure 5 Means test portion of subsidy application form

SECTION C: MONTHLY INCOME DETAILS (To be completed by applicant)		
	Applicant	Spouse
Indicate if you are: Unemployed		
Employed		
Self Employed		
Pensioner		
Basic Monthly Income	R	R
Regular Periodic Allowances	R	R
Housing Allowance Received	R	R
• Housing Allowance to be Received	R	R
Commission Received (12 months average)	R	R
Pension or Disability Grant	R	R
TOTAL	R	R
JOINT TOTAL (Applicant and Spouse)	R	
Amount of Subsidy Applied For	R	

Note that the form refers to "spouse", which is incorrect since the income of an unmarried, cohabiting permanent partner is also taken into account

In 2009, the state old age pension amount is R1 010 per month – so two pensioners would be deemed to have an income of R2 020. Even a small amount of additional income would be enough to push their income over the means test threshold of R3 500.

In practice, income from grants is not something which is likely to result in exclusions. A housing official pointed out that if the private earnings of a pensioner pushed them over the threshold "they would be unlikely to declare it" or "we would work around it".[18] While the targeting mechanism may be flawed at a conceptual level, there is an indication that these flaws may be circumvented at the level of implementation. This suggests discretionary decisions on the part of implementers which, although they may be in the interests of poor people, mean flouting the rules of administrative justice. And the principle remains: that in an integrated poverty alleviation strategy, targeted programmes and benefits should be complementary and cumulative – and access to one poverty alleviation programme should not reduce eligibility for other programmes in the integrated package.

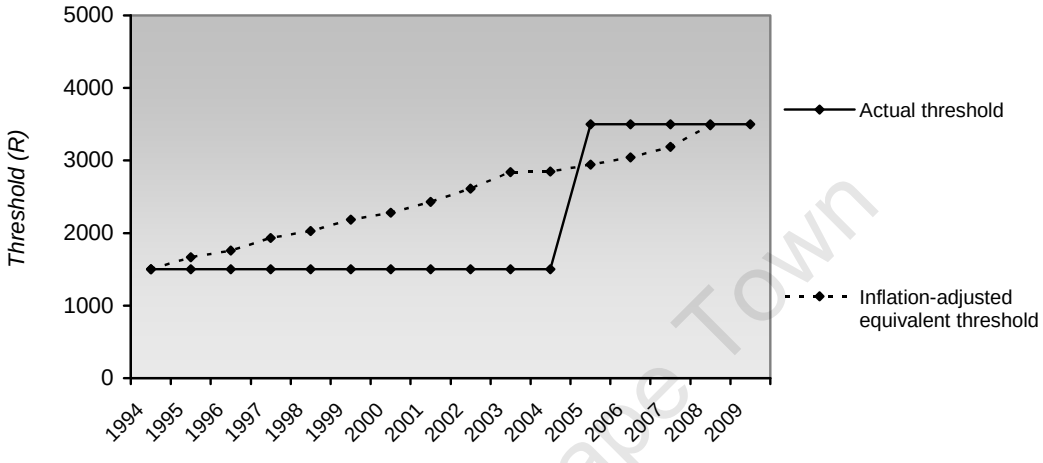
Static income thresholds and stratification

Finally, the issue of a static income threshold must be mentioned. The means test remained unchanged for the first ten years of the housing subsidy scheme. Originally set at R1 500 for the maximum subsidy, the threshold did not increase with inflation for a decade. This effectively narrowed the targeted population which, 10 years after the programme's inception, had to be almost twice as poor to qualify for a subsidy. The failure to raise the income ceiling theoretically excluded many households who would had qualified for a subsidy if the income threshold had been appropriately inflated during this time.

[18] pers comm: Assistant Director, Subsidy section, WC Provincial dept of Housing

In 2005, the Department of Housing introduced a dramatic increase in the income thresholds for the subsidy. The "poverty line" was increased so that all applicants with monthly incomes below R3 500 could qualify for the full subsidy. In effect, the subsidy thresholds caught up with inflation in a single step. However, by 2008 inflation had once again caught up with the income threshold. This is illustrated in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6 : Actual & inflation-adjusted housing subsidy thresholds by year



Own calculations using CPIX, reported by Statistics South Africa

The housing subsidy is stratified, with the largest subsidies going to the poorest applicants. The original intention was that housing for the lowest stratum would be driven entirely by the subsidy, and that as income levels increased, beneficiaries would be more likely to be able to contribute more from savings or by accessing loans to "top-up" the subsidy. However, it was generally acknowledged in the housing sector that while the tiered subsidy amounts were designed to be equitable, people in the middle and upper strata were often unable to supplement the smaller subsidies and so were excluded from the subsidy altogether. The increase of the threshold means that applicants in the higher income brackets (R3 500 – R7 000) may be more able to access housing credit. But unless the means tests are adjusted again (and continuously), they will once again fall below the originally intended poverty lines, in effect contracting the targeting of the programme.

5.1.5 Defining "home-owners"

The housing subsidy is available only to first-time home-owners. It is difficult to clearly define home-ownership. The rules for the Housing Subsidy Scheme state that a beneficiary must be "acquiring property for the first time", but are not explicit about what previous forms of tenure are excluded from the definition of "acquiring property". The National Housing Code provides greater clarity by defining the "secure tenure" which beneficiaries should acquire through the subsidy scheme – suggesting that they should not previously have had these forms of tenure:

> "Persons will only qualify for housing subsidies where they acquire the secure right to occupy, use or own a property in terms of a tenure form which can be registered with a competent authority. Generally subsidies will be made available only to beneficiaries who acquire registered title to a property either in the form of ownership, leasehold, 99-year leasehold, or deed of grant…. In the instance of rural subsidies, beneficiaries must have defined undisputed informal land rights in terms of the Interim Protection of the Informal Land Rights Act, 1996." [National Housing Code, section 2.2.2]

Clearly there are exceptions to the first-time homeowner requirement, for instance in the case of consolidation subsidies and some rural subsidies, where housing subsidies are contingent on applicants holding existing land rights. But generally the applicant must state that they have not previously owned a property – and this declaration can be verified in that the department runs a cross-check with the deeds registry. Such cross-checks are only able to identify cases where ownership has been formally transferred to the applicant.

The national data do not enable us to distinguish home-ownership status for various members of a household, but only for the household as a whole. Self-reported tenure status is likely to be extremely unreliable due to different conceptions of "ownership". For instance, in the General Household Survey a large proportion of informal housing (75%) is described by respondents as being "owned", but it is not clear whether this refers to formal tenure, or simply a perception that an informal dwelling belongs to the person who built it, irrespective of formal land rights. Similarly, the vast majority of traditional dwellings (91%) are reported in the national data as being "owned", although much of this is likely to be on land under communal tenure, which creates specific property rights, not necessarily equivalent to formal ownership.

Table 2 below presents a child-centred analysis of household level data from the General Household survey, cross-tabulating dwelling type and reported tenure status.

Table 2 Housing and tenure type: child-centred analysis of national data

	Type of dwelling				
Type of tenure	**formal**	**informal**	**traditional**	**other/unspec**	**Total**
owned	10,747,056	1,839,390	3,079,715	73,930	15,740,090
%	59%	10%	17%	0%	86%
rented	1,144,799	583,104	20,892	13,799	1,762,593
%	6%	3%	0%	0%	10%
occupied rent-free	460,052	210,350	55,263	14,863	740,527
%	3%	1%	0%	0%	4%
Total	12,351,907	2,632,843	3,155,869	102,592	18,243,211
%	68%	14%	17%	1%	100.0%

Source: StatsSA (2006); own calculations

In the primary research, the problem of defining tenure was similarly compounded by the fact that many respondents *perceived* themselves to be home-owners, even if this

was not legally the case. Many self-described "owners" do not in fact have individual tenure in the form of ownership (for instance, people who "own" their shacks on what the Department regards as illegally occupied land in Nkanini, or those who have built their houses on allocated land under communal tenure in the rural villages). The majority (over 90%) of children had caregivers (or caregiver partners) who reported that they "own" their house. Yet most of these would be eligible for housing subsidies because they would not be officially defined as home-owners.

Eligibility calculations risk circular reasoning in that, once someone has received a housing subsidy, they automatically become ineligible. However, the analysis needs to reflect access as a proportion of eligible children, so the denominator must include children whose caregivers were eligible at the time of accessing the subsidy, even if they subsequently became home-owners. Children of caregivers who have already received a housing subsidy were assumed to be definitely eligible at the time of application – the application would have been declined if the applicant or his/her partner was already listed as a subsidy beneficiary or a property owner in the deeds registry. It is reasonably safe to assume that there are no (or almost no) errors of inclusion in this regard, since the identity number of any subsidy beneficiary (together with that of their spouse/partner and any other declared dependants) is recorded on a national register, and the identity numbers of all subsidy applicants are cross-checked against this register before subsidies are approved.

In the urban site, the following approach was used to distinguish ineligible home-owners from those who are potentially eligible for housing subsidies (including those who have accessed subsidies):

- Children living in the formal/mixed urban areas of Village 3 were regarded as eligible for a housing subsidy unless it was specified that their caregiver bought or inherited their house AND did not receive a housing subsidy AND the house was formal (walls of brick or cement blocks). Thirteen children were excluded on this basis. Village 3 was historically 'site and service', and property owners are still eligible for consolidation subsidies. Those who received subsidies for their current house are assumed to have been eligible at the time that they applied.

- People living in the informal settlement of Nkanini were regarded as eligible for a housing subsidy unless they specified that they had already received a housing subsidy for a house somewhere else. A total of seven children were excluded because their caregivers (and/or caregiver partners) had received a subsidy for a house somewhere else. No residents of Nkanini would have had title deeds to their houses in the informal area, since the land had not yet been demarcated for housing development at the time of the survey.

- People living in the housing subsidy development of Kuyasa were automatically regarded as having been eligible, unless they specified that they bought the house with cash or a loan AND that they did not receive a housing subsidy. Six children (living in four households) were ineligible on this basis.

Although respondents were asked about other homes, it is not possible to determine whether these other homes would result in caregivers being excluded from the housing subsidy. This is despite the fact that we asked who the owner of the other home was, and could determine if the caregiver or her partner was the owner of another home. We are nevertheless prevented from knowing whether they would be excluded because many of these homes are likely to be in rural areas, and may not be regarded by the Department of Housing as reason for exclusion from the subsidy scheme (for example, they may not be registered with the deeds office).

In the rural site, the following assumptions were made:

- All people living in the rural villages were regarded as potentially eligible for a housing subsidy because they do not have registered title. (This assumption is based on actual practice, rather than on the intention of the housing subsidy scheme. If households who "own" property in rural areas under communal tenure are eligible to apply for housing subsidies, then this implies that they could equally apply for a subsidy house in an urban area. Nowhere in the policy is it suggested that the housing subsidy provides a second home – on the contrary, it is designed to provide a starter home for people who are poor, who are struggling to house themselves adequately, and who have not owned a property before.)

- Those who have received a housing subsidy for their current house are regarded as having been definitely eligible at the time they received the subsidy in that they did not have title deeds to another property (although they may have already regarded themselves as existing homeowners at the time of application).

- Children of caregivers who had received a subsidy house somewhere else are assumed to be ineligible on the basis that they are already subsidy beneficiaries and registered property owners. Altogether, 20 children in the rural sample were defined as ineligible because their caregivers had received a subsidy house somewhere else.

Altogether, 97% of children were assumed to have caregivers who were not registered home-owners or who have been previously allocated housing through the subsidy scheme. These children are potentially eligible for subsidies provided that their caregivers are legally competent and pass the means test.

Table 3 Children excluded from subsidies due to tenure requirement

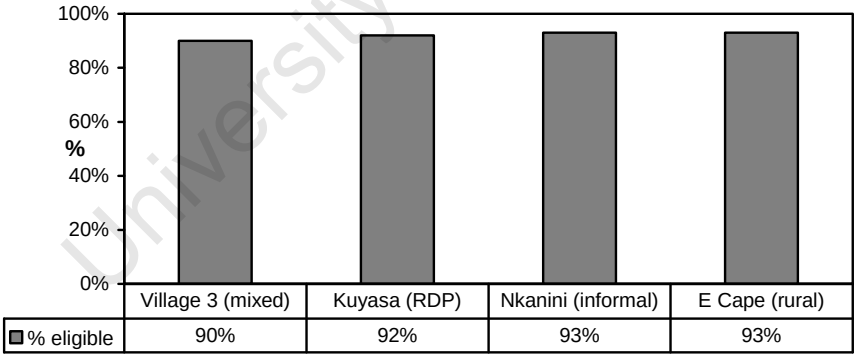
	SELF-REPORTED HOME-OWNER (current dwelling)		
Area Type	**Previous owner (not eligible)**	**Non-owner (eligible)**	**Total**
Village 3 (mixed housing)	10	277	287
%	3%	97%	100%
Nkanini (informal)	7	198	205
%	3%	97%	100%
Kuyasa (subsidy housing)	1	149	150
%	1%	99%	100%
Theko Springs (rural)	20	517	537
%	4%	96%	100%
Total (N)	**38**	**1141**	**1,179**
%	**3%**	**97%**	**100%**

5.2 Results and discussion

After applying the eligibility criteria for age, income and homeownership to the sample, is it clear that the vast majority of children in both sites would qualify or have already qualified for a housing subsidy via their caregiver.

Figure 7 Eligibility for the Housing Subsidy Scheme, by area type

(Means to Live sites; eligibility includes those who have received subsidies)



Note: unit of analysis is the child

In its conceptualisation, then, the targeting mechanism for the housing subsidy appears to include a very large proportion of poor children, with little difference in eligibility levels across the urban and rural sites. While similar assumptions to those described above would need to be made in order to construct a measure of eligibility based on national data, eligibility rates are likely to be lower on average. The research sites were purposively selected for their high levels of poverty, poor living conditions and the existence of a recent housing development project – and so one would expect disproportionately high rates of eligibility.

The next part of the analysis turns to uptake of the housing subsidy scheme, so that it is possible to calculate the proportion of eligible children whose caregivers access the scheme, using this eligibility analysis for the denominator.

Chapter 6 Uptake and targeting errors

Objective: to determine the reach of housing subsidy programme in relation to the eligible (child) population, and to identify errors of exclusion and inclusion.

6.1 Data and analysis

6.1.1 National delivery statistics

By March 2008, nearly 2.6 million houses had been built or were under construction nationally. In theory, this means that about a fifth of South Africa's 13 million households were accommodated in subsidy housing.

Table 4 National housing delivery statistics by province, 2008

Province	Housing units completed or under construction (1994 – March 2008)*		Provincial distribution of children**
	Number of houses	Provincial distribution	
Eastern Cape	300,915	12%	16%
Free State	173,732	7%	6%
Gauteng	683,343	27%	16%
KwaZulu-Natal	424,569	17%	22%
Limpopo	199,782	8%	14%
Mpumalanga	186,531	7%	8%
North West	248,306	10%	7%
Northern Cape	57,831	2%	2%
Western Cape	293,053	11%	9%
SOUTH AFRICA	**2,568,062**	**100%**	**100%**

Source:
* Department of Housing, personal communication in response to data request, September 2008 (Data were accompanied by the following note, with a request to include it wherever the data were reported: *"Housing delivery in the first five years of democracy varied greatly from year to year and from province to province as different systems of reporting and monitoring had to be unified. It is also important to note that no government elsewhere in the world provides free houses."*)
** Statistics South mid-year estimates for 2007; own analysis of GHS 2007

Table 4 above compares the provincial distribution of housing delivery with that of the child population. Notably, while only 16% of South Africa's children are resident in Gauteng, 27% of all subsidy housing has been built in that province. Conversely, while relatively large proportions of children live in KwaZulu-Natal (22%), the Eastern Cape (16%) and Limpopo (14%), the share of housing delivery to these provinces has been relatively small (17%, 16% and 8% respectively). The housing subsidy is an essential mechanism to enable provincial and local government to address housing shortages and provide formal accommodation for people moving to cities, including those living in informal settlements around cities. Children are under-

represented in these environments, and are therefore less likely to access subsidized housing unless they subsequently move to join adult caregivers who are housing beneficiaries.

6.1.2 Data availability for measuring uptake

As already mentioned in section 3.2.3, official national household data do not capture adequate information on access to the housing subsidy. A brief review of the main national surveys undertaken by Statistics South Africa shows that, while some surveys allude to the housing subsidy (presumably in an effort to derive a measure of uptake) the information is not sufficiently detailed to enable analysis. There is no reference to the housing subsidy in the national Census of 2001 or in the Community Survey of 2007.

The General Household Survey includes a direct question on the housing subsidy, but this is formulated in such a way that it is not possible to determine which household member/s are the beneficiaries, or whether the subsidy is linked to the sampled dwelling. The question appears as follows in the questionnaire:

> **Did any member of this household receive a government housing subsidy, such as RDP housing subsidy, to obtain this dwelling or any other dwelling?**
> *Do not include housing subsidies for government employees.*
> 1 = Yes
> 2 = No
> 3 = Don't know

The Income and Expenditure Survey (2000) refers only to a land acquisition grant, and similarly fails to determine the beneficiary or whether the land is the same as that on which the sampled dwelling is located:

> **Did this household receive a government land grant to obtain a plot of land for residence or for farming?**
> 1 = Yes
> 2 = No
> 3 = Don't know

The Labour Force Survey, like some other surveys, refers to subsidies in the context of determining rental values, but seems to limit this to employer subsidies (although this is not made explicit and may result in some unintended capture of the national housing subsidy):

> ***If dwelling is rented or occupied rent-free***
> **What is the amount of rent paid or value of rent (if rented free) for this dwelling?**
> 1.1 Amount paid by you excluding amount subsidised, or value of rent, if rented free
> 1.2 Amount subsidised (e.g. by employer)

Our own household questionnaire, by contrast, included a series of specific questions about ownership and access to subsidies. In the general housing section the survey established the type of tenure and, for owners, asked about the mechanism of ownership and captured the owner details. In this way it was possible to determine whether caregivers of the sampled children were homeowners:

Is this home owned or rented, or occupied for free? Please explain to me how you stay in this dwelling *[Use answers to clarify]*

1	... owned, with no loans to pay off?
2	... owned, but not yet fully paid off? (eg. with a mortgage / micro loan)
3	... rented?
4	... not owned or rented, but occupied for free, as part of the employment contract of a family member?
5	... not owned or rented, but occupied for free (eg allocated land) - not part of an employment contract?
6	... other (specify): .....

→ *If not owned (3, 4 or 5) SKIP to Q.1.25*

If OWNED (1 or 2 above): **How did this property come to be owned? [How did you get your house?]**

[READ OUT each and circle if "yes". Multiple mentions possible]

1	bought it with cash	6	inherited from a family member / friend
2	bought it with a bond or home loan	7	RDP house / subsidy house / received from government or local authority
3	bought it with a small / personal / micro loan	8	other (specify): .....
4	was allocated the land and built the house		.....

If owned : **Which household member or members actually own the property? [Whose names are listed on the title deed?]**

	Name (50)	Sex (51) 1 = Male 2 = Female	Resident (52) 1 = in the HH 2 = not in the HH	→ *if owner(s) live in HH, record HH ID#*	(53) HH ID# *[complete after HH roster]*
Owner 1:					
Owner 2:					

If owned : **When did ...** *(owners)* **become the owners of this property?** YEAR: ..... (54)

In the subsequent caregiver-specific section, the survey asked about home-ownership of other dwellings, including previous ownership (since this is related to eligibility). It established whether the caregiver (or her partner) had received or applied for a housing subsidy, and if so, whether the subsidy was in respect of the sampled dwelling or another dwelling. There were also questions relating to intent, where caregivers were asked about housing-linked savings and those who had not applied for subsidies were asked why they had not done so[19].

(100)	(101)	(102)	(103)	(104)	(105)	(106)	(107)	(108)
4.1 **Does ... have another home somewhere else?** (for example, a home in a different province or another town or rural area?) 1 = Yes 2 = No 9 = D/K *If No, skip to Q.4.4*	**4.2** *If YES in 4.1* **Where is this other home? (province)** 1 = E Cape 2 = F State 3 = Gauteng 4 = KZ Natal 5 = Limpopo 6 = Mpum 7 = N West 8 = N Cape 9 = W Cape 10 = not SA	**4.3** *If YES in 4.1* **Who owns this other home?** 1 = ... (caregiver self) 2 = spouse / partner 3 = other relative 4 = other non-relative	**4.4** *Ask ALL caregivers* **Has ... EVER owned another house, even if they no longer own it?** 1 = Yes 2 = No - never *Note: the answer will automatically* be YES if respondent owns this house or a house somewhere else	**4.5** *Ask ALL caregivers* **Has ... EVER got a house through the government's housing subsidy scheme (eg. RDP house) - either on their own or through their spouse/ partner?** *Clarify:* 1 = Yes - this house 2 = Yes - other house 3 = No - never *If No, SKIP to Q 4.7*	**4.6** *If yes - OTHER house:* **Why is ... not living in that subsidy house?** 1 = house was sold 2 = house is rented out 3 = separated from partner 4 = better to live here (convenient / safer / ..) 5 - other (specify) 9 = D/K *SKIP to Q 4.9 next page*	**4.7** *If NO in Q 4.5* **Has ... EVER applied for a house or housing subsidy from the government's housing subsidy programme?** 1 = Yes 2 = No *If yes, SKIP to Q. 4.9 next page*	**4.8** *If NO in Q 4.7* **WHY has ... not applied for a house or housing subsidy from the government?** 1 = never heard of it 2 = don't know how to apply / need info 3 = don't need a house 4 = not eligible 5 = other (specify)	**4.9** *Ask ALL caregivers* **Has .. participated in any group savings scheme specifically to save money for a house?** If YES, record name of scheme 2 = No 9 = D/K

[19] Note that while the questions are formulated in the third person, most caregivers were interviewed in person, and therefore responded for themselves. Some households had more than one caregiver – so this section of the questionnaire took the form of a smaller roster (of all caregivers in the household). Three visits to sampled households were required before fieldworkers were allowed to interview another household member who responded on behalf of a caregiver.

6.1.3 Determining uptake in the research sites

The majority of rural children were living with caregivers who reported that they owned or co-owned their homes. Reported home-ownership rates dropped to 55% of caregivers in the formal parts of the urban sites (Makhaza Village 3 and Kuyasa), while nearly half of those living in the informal settlement described themselves as homeowners.

Table 5 Home ownership and subsidy access, by area type

	SELF-REPORTED HOME-OWNER (current dwelling)			SELF-REPORTED HOUSING SUBSIDY		
Area Type	**Non-owner**	**Owner**	**Total**	**This dwelling**	**Other dwelling**	**Total**
Village 3 (mixed housing)	129	158	287	145	7	152
%	45%	55%	100%	51%	2%	53%
Nkanini (informal)	106	99	205	0	7	7
%	52%	48%	100%	0%	3%	3%
Kuyasa (subsidy housing)	68	82	150	84	6	90
%	45%	55%	100%	56%	4%	60%
Theko Springs (rural)	165	372	537	123	20	143
%	31%	69%	100%	23%	4%	27%
Total (N)	**468**	**711**	**1,179**	**352**	**40**	**392**
%	**40%**	**60%**	**100%**	**30%**	**3%**	**33%**

Note: unit of analysis is the child

Home-ownership through the subsidy had to be largely imputed, based on our knowledge of the local context. For instance, not all subsidy beneficiaries were aware that they had received a housing subsidy. In some instances this is because people had contributed financially to the cost of the house, and perceived that they 'bought' the property. In other cases it may be because the involvement of intermediaries or other support organisations is confusing – for instance beneficiaries distinguish between getting an "RDP house from government" or "a Homeless People's Federation house"[20] – since there is little awareness that the Federation accesses government housing subsidies as well as the group savings scheme.

The following children were classified as having caregivers who were beneficiaries of the housing subsidy scheme:

- All children where the respondent reported that the caregiver received a housing subsidy – either for the house they are living in or somewhere else

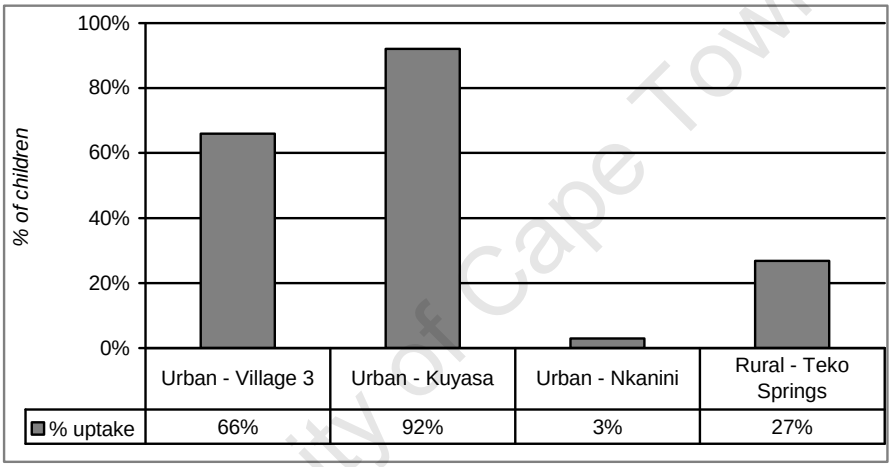
[20] The Homeless People's Federation, modeled on the popular movement of the same name in the Philippines, and SPARK in India, originated in 1991 and is a loose network of autonomous community-based groups working towards better housing conditions in South Africa. Briefly, the Federation supported a people-driven housing process and mobilization around collective savings schemes used for housing and community development (see Briggs, 2008; Khan & Pieterse, 2004; Millstein, Oldfield, & Stokke, 2003, and also www.sdinet.org and www.utshani.org.za)

- Children whose caregivers/partners own the property and reported that they obtained it through the RDP / subsidy process or received it from the government / local authority – provided they were not living in the informal settlement (where no subsidy houses have been built)

- Children living in the subsidy housing area (Kuyasa), if their caregiver/partner owned the house – unless it is specified that no subsidy was received and the house was bought or inherited

- Children living in the formal/mixed area (Village 3), if their caregiver/partner owns the house – unless it was specified that no subsidy was received and the house was bought or inherited

Figure 8 Uptake of housing subsidy in the research sites



Note: unit of analysis is the child

On the basis of this analysis, the vast majority of children living in the housing development of Kuyasa had caregivers who had accessed housing subsidies. Two thirds of those in the township of Village 3 had accessed housing subsidies, and just over a quarter (27%) of those in the rural Eastern Cape villages had caregivers who had received subsidy houses. Only 3% of children in the urban informal settlement of Nkanini had caregivers who were subsidy beneficiaries, and none of these were related to the dwelling in which they were currently living.

The next phase of the analysis is to compare subsidy uptake with eligibility, in order determine the accuracy of the targeting mechanism.

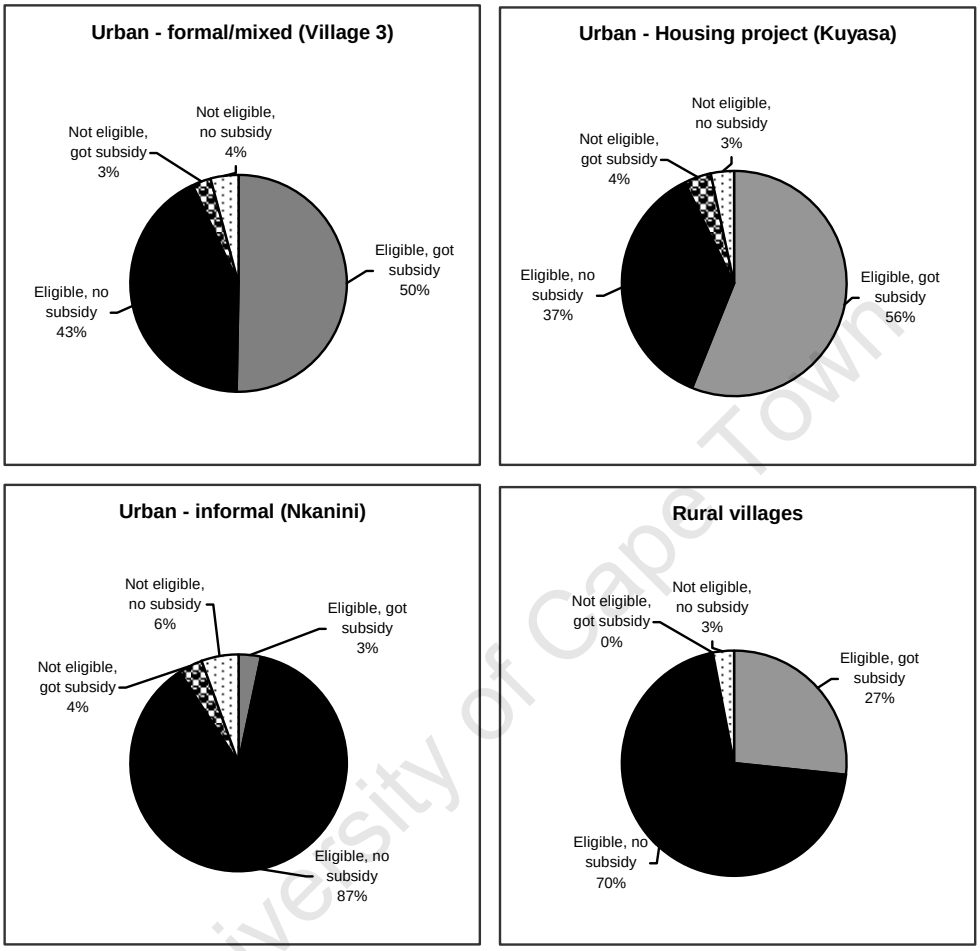
6.2 Results and discussion

6.2.1 An overview of inclusions and exclusions

Figure 9 below provides a child-centred overview of inclusions and exclusions at design and implementation levels, derived from survey data in the two sites. There is

little difference in eligibility levels across the four housing areas: a small proportion of children, between 7% and 10%, are not eligible for subsidies via their caregivers.

Figure 9 Eligibility & uptake of the Housing Subsidy Scheme



Actual uptake of the subsidy provides a very different and rather tautological picture. As we would expect, the majority of children in the subsidy housing project had caregivers who had accessed the subsidy. Those reflected as being eligible but not having access to the subsidy are children living in households where someone other than their caregiver is the subsidy beneficiary. None of the children in the informal settlement had caregivers who had received housing subsidies for their current house. If they had, it is unlikely that they would be staying in the informal settlement. Anecdotal comments from residents were that some subsidy beneficiaries sell their houses for quick cash and then end up living in the informal settlement when they have nowhere else to go. Such cases were not encountered during the fieldwork.

Uptake of the housing subsidy in the rural area was lower than in the urban site, but considerably higher than the national picture for rural areas. This site was unusual in

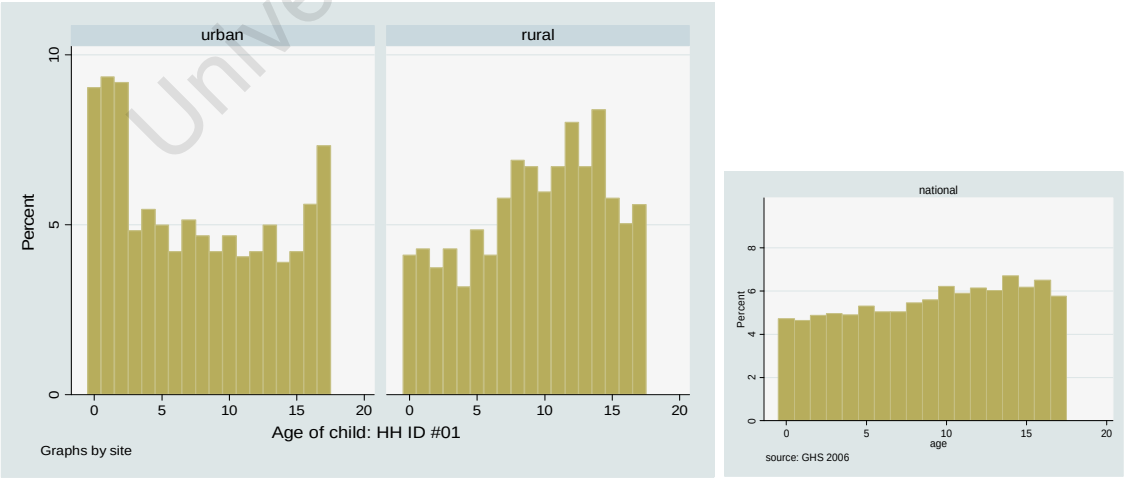
that the rural housing subsidy was being implemented – it was one of a number of pilot rural subsidy sites in the Eastern Cape. So while the housing situation in the site is not typical of rural areas, the research provides us with some insight into the processes and possible consequences of implementing the rural subsidy, at a time when the subsidy instrument is under review and there are plans to start scaling up rural implementation.

The research sites were deliberately selected because they had very poor populations. In calculating joint total income (caregiver + spouse/partner) for the means test, it was found that 60% of children had caregivers with no income from earnings. This meant that median income across the research sites was zero, and the mean a low R420. Housing subsidy beneficiaries were, on the whole, slightly less poor than those who were eligible but failed beneficiaries, with a mean income of R503 (95%CI: R429–R579) compared with a mean of R274 (95%CI: R234–R314).

Eligible caregivers who had received housing subsidies were, on average, slightly older than those who had not (95%CI: 41.3–44.2 years v 38.2–40.2 years). Similarly children who benefited from housing subsidies via their caregivers were slightly older than those who had not (95%CI: 9.0–10.1 years v 7.7–8.5 years). This is related to the age distribution of children, and the inclusion of the informal settlement in the urban sample, where the mean age of resident children was just 5.9 years and where there was no take-up of the subsidy.

The chart below illustrates the differences in age distribution amongst children in the urban and rural research sites.

Figure 10 Age distribution of children in research sites (and nationally)



The national distribution of children by age is fairly even (as shown on the extreme right), but this may mask the effects of population movement where children move

between different area types. The urban child population includes a relatively large population of babies, after which there is a sudden drop-off in the proportion of children for all ages until around 15 years, when the proportion of children starts to increase again each year, possibly signifying in-migration of teenagers to the city. In the rural site on the other hand, the proportion of babies is relatively small compared to the urban population, but increases for children year-by-year until age 14, after which the proportion of children at each age level decreases again.

This pattern is partly explained in qualitative accounts from caregivers, who described the movement of young children into rural households. A number of caregivers in the rural site cared for children whose mothers lived in the city and either earned money to send home or tried to find work. Ten percent of children in the rural site were classified as “mobile” in that they had not been born into their household but joined it later. Over a fifth of the rural children (22%) lived in a household which had been joined by a “mobile” child, while 12% of the urban children lived in “mobile” households of this kind. In the caregiver accounts, child mobility was associated with a range of logistical challenges related to the transfer of social grants, school enrolment, the location of identity documents and preferred living environments.

The errors of exclusion therefore seem to disproportionately affect younger caregivers, younger children and poorer households. Errors of exclusion are greatest in the informal settlement and in the rural villages, where the majority of residents were eligible for subsidies but had not received them. Caregivers with higher incomes were more likely to save money for housing through savings schemes, and those who joined savings schemes were more likely to have received houses through the subsidy scheme.

Chapter 7 Consequences and barriers to uptake

Objective: To identify some of the costs and consequences of the targeting mechanism for applicants and beneficiaries, and to explore obstacles to take-up amongst those who do not access the programme.

7.1 Beneficiary experience of the application process

Research amongst beneficiaries indicates that bureaucratic procedures for accessing the subsidy are not overly burdensome or expensive – particularly in the case of project-linked subsidies, the main mechanism for delivery. In a qualitative study amongst housing beneficiaries across the nine provinces, Zack and Charlton found that "across the spectrum respondents speak positively of the application process. People generally say the process was easy. Community leaders or officials told them they could apply for a subsidy, and they were helped to do so. The process of filling in forms and producing the necessary documents does not seem to have been an obstacle" (Zack & Charlton, 2003:32). Similarly, a Public Service Commission survey of 600 beneficiaries across 40 housing projects nationally found that "over 90% [of project-linked subsidy beneficiaries] said they had received adequate assistance in subsidy application preparation" (Public Service Commission, 2003:84). Even photocopying and certification of supporting documentation is not expensive or labour-intensive for applicants, since this is usually done by the project manager on site. The main requirement of applicants is patience – the minimum time period from application to delivery in a project-linked subsidy development is around a year, but often ranges up to five or more years.[21] During this period, beneficiaries need to provide for their own housing needs, which can be particularly challenging and expensive if they are required to move from their existing location in the interim.

It should be noted that beneficiary research by definition captures the experiences of those households which have successfully accessed the housing subsidy – and is therefore unlikely to reflect barriers experienced by those who were unsuccessful or abandoned their efforts to secure a subsidy.

In the research sites, beneficiaries described the housing application process as quite easy, and the officials helpful.

> I used to live in Site C - the place where we used to live in turned out to be an area that was going to be used, that's where they are building a hospital, a clinic for Site C, a day hospital next to the hall… So we were moved from that area and we were put here when they built this area. So we were all grateful for that… It went according to numbers, since they wanted to use

[21] Paul le Roux (Acting Manager: New housing, Cape Administration) – personal communication; Warren Smit (previously at Development Action Group) – personal communication

> that area…we were exactly at that place where they are building the hospital structure, from the place where it starts next to the hall in Site C… They rushed us through in that sense, yes we attended meetings…[but] we didn't apply." *[Nonzwakazi, 44, mother and housing subsidy beneficiary, Kuyasa. Own interview]*

However, in spatially targeted schemes such as those in Kuyasa and Nkanini, as well as the rural villages in the Eastern Cape, there was a sense that identified households were fast-tracked through the application process, sometimes with little understanding of the process or the consequences for them.

> The application - well there were meetings at the Chief's house, and they kept saying that there was RDP thing coming, it was gift from the government… The forms were available at the headman's place and then headman would give them to certain people so that they would do the registration of people, for us to register with those people.
> *Did somebody come here?*
> No, my mother went to the people who were doing the registration, at Ndongeni's place… when we were registering you have to bring your ID, you went there and you registered there and they said they would send it to Bisho, so the people made the applications and they forwarded their IDs and they sent it to be done. *[Neliswa, 27, unmarried mother, Theko Springs. Own interview.]*

> They asked for a photocopy of your ID, and if you are a married woman they would then ask for the husband's and then you filled in the form. That was it. We did it at the school they do the photocopying at the school but the applications form came from Bisho.
> *Who filled in the application?*
> I filled it myself but the person who had brought it would also look at it
> *[Nowandile, 39, mother married to migrant worker, Theko Springs. Interviewed by Nosi Raba]*

7.2 Financial costs and savings

7.2.1 Contributions, unenvisaged costs and sweat equity

A beneficiary contribution of R2 479 was previously required from housing applicants. This was discriminatory because it was unaffordable for the poorest households. It also caused blockages in the housing process, since allocated housing could not be transferred to the beneficiaries until they had come up with the money. The housing department discontinued the compulsory contribution requirement for the poor in 2005, replacing it with a "sweat equity" contribution – i.e. free labour – through the People's Housing Process (PHP).

It is therefore not compulsory for beneficiaries to contribute financially to the cost of the house in order to access a housing subsidy. However, there were unforeseen financial costs to beneficiary households recorded in the research sites – for example, cases where beneficiaries had been forcibly removed from Site C and then struggled to afford the cost of removing their belongings to the new housing development in Kuyasa. One mother was required to pay R200 for the keys to the new subsidy house – she paid this money out of her child's grant.

In the rural villages, an important unenvisaged cost to beneficiaries related to the delivery of materials in an area without road infrastructure. Trucks deposited building materials – cement blocks and zinc sheeting – along the single main road through the villages, and later at the Support Centre, a single-roomed meeting place at the beginning of the village. Beneficiaries who lived away from the main road and down the valleys had to make their own arrangements to transport the materials to their plots. The district municipality engineer commented on this process saying "ïn Theko Spring there is nothing – no roads, no water for construction, no access – they are just dumping the bricks." Residents needed to pay for these services out of their own pocket. They also paid for the Toyota Ventures, used as taxis, to transport their building materials to safer storage places until the houses could be built.

> We were called to the meeting and they said it's a meeting for giving out the zinc. When we went there one would be given their share of the zincs and you would sit next to it, and then you would find something to take it home. Some used wheelbarrows and others carried them on their heads, and we looked for a car because we could not carry them ourselves…. We got the car from the Stallions that are used as taxis here, and it we paid R20 to move them from the support centre to here. *[Neliswa, 27, unmarried mother, Theko Springs. Own interview.]*

> Even the zinc, in the project that is here now, we have to collect the zinc ourselves. They do not bring the government things to us, we have to collect them with our own money and hire a car, and yet it wasn't said like that… We are crowded by the zincs in our home, you can't even clean *[Caregivers focus group, Nkelekethe. Interviewed by Nosi Raba]*

Piles of cement blocks are still standing alongside the road. In addition, water for building needed to be collected from the river at the bottom of the valley. This was an entrepreneurial opportunity for a few residents who owned donkeys, which were harnessed to sleds that could transport building materials over the rough terrain, or to containers to transport water up the hills.

7.2.2 Savings schemes

A literal "cost" of housing access is the financial contributions of the poor. Almost a quarter of children living in Village 3 (23%) have caregivers who had actively saved money or participated in savings schemes for housing, whereas reported savings was far less frequent in other areas (12% of those in Kuyasa had saved, 10% in Nkanini and less than 1% of those in the rural villages had saved specifically for housing). Caregivers who had joined savings schemes were more likely to have received housing subsidies (66%) than those who had not (30%).

Those who were saving also had higher joint incomes, with a mean of R1 065 (95%CI: R852–R1280) compared to a mean income of R368 among those who had not saved for housing (95%CI: R318–R418), suggesting an association between income and savings. This suggests that children in poorer households may have to settle for smaller "unimproved" subsidy houses.

A risk associated with savings is that schemes sometimes dissolve, and there are anecdotal references to cases where members lost money after trustees disappeared. Caregivers spoke of savings-linked projects being impermanent, resulting in delays for housing applicants who had to join other schemes and start again.

> Oh it's two full years that I've been waiting… you register with this project and then you hear that the people who were running this project have stopped and then it's picked up by others, and then if you are interested you register there again, or you decide to join another project that seems to go faster.
> *[Nombulelo, 40, mother in Village 3. Interviewed by Lindiwe Mthembu-Salter]*

> The girls [from the Federation] come from Philippi and they come to campaign here and tell us that "we give people the bricks and we do it in this way and that way and the other" and so we joined, it's like that…. But now even those girls, that place is now gone, it has changed, those people, those girls are not there anymore, they are in Johannesburg, those girls; Nokhangela and them. And even the phone numbers that they gave us… the call will go to a voicemail, you can't find them.
> *[Nothemba, 53, widowed mother & grandmother, Village 3. Interviewed by Lindiwe Mthembu-Salter]*

The perceived 'abandonment' by the Federation expressed by these informants probably relates to a restructuring process that took place the previous year, in 2005, when the Homeless People's Federation split and, with the support of previous partner organisations such as People's Dialogue and Shack Dwellers International, re-emerged as the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP). A smaller group continuing under the original "Federation" banner continued to operate, but only in the Philippi project in the Western Cape.[22]

7.2.3 Requirements of the People's Housing Process

Although the People's Housing Process (PHP) is envisaged as a community-driven housing process, it is highly regulated and can be administratively burdensome. There are a number of formal requirements for a PHP project, outlined in the National Housing Code (Department of Housing, 2004c, Chapter 8). These include the involvement or establishment of a Support Organisation, which must be a legal entity. The Support Organisation must establish an office that is easily accessible to beneficiaries (a local contractor reported that the housing department had provided containers to serve as offices for PHP projects. But the containers are not big enough for all members to meet. Schools were also used as venues for meetings). The Support Organisations must appoint a certifier (to regularly inspect the quality of building work and assist with technical advice), and an account administrator (who manages the project finances). These office bearers are paid a small wage by the department.

Beneficiary households are identified at community level, and a list of prospective beneficiaries is supplied to the Provincial Housing Department by the Support Organisation. All schemes must be registered with the provincial department as

[22] (Personal communication - Marie Huchzermeyer, May 2010; see also Khan & Pieterse, 2004; Swilling, undated)

projects in order to access subsidies, and plans must be passed by council. The policy states that the PHP can be applied to individual or collective housing projects. However, an official in the provincial department stated that they do not normally accept an application with less than 50 beneficiaries.

For participating households, the process requires attendance at community meetings. Some caregivers talked of their involvement in pricing and buying materials, as well as being responsible for looking after them (there was a risk of materials disappearing from building sites). This required the additional responsibility of keeping receipts and other documents safe.

7.3 Proof of identity

Some applicants had had difficulty in providing the required documentation. The basic documentation which must accompany housing application is specified in the National Housing Code and applies to consolidation subsidies as well as project-linked subsidies (Department of Housing, 2004c):

> "Beneficiaries that apply for housing subsidies must submit documentation of proof with their completed application forms. The omission of the required documents of proof will result in the return of the application form to the applicant. The following documents, if applicable, must accompany all application forms:
>
> - a certified copy of the page of the bar-coded RSA identity document containing photograph of (self and spouse) OR a certified copy of the page of the bar-coded permanent residence identity document containing photograph if not a South African citizen
> - a certified copy of a marriage certificate / divorce settlement
> - a spouse's death certificate
> - certified copies of birth certificates of all dependants
> - proof of disability (medical form for application for the variation in subsidy amount – self and/or member of the household)
> - a certified copy of most recent payslip (self & spouse). Should the applicant be self-employed, proof of monthly earnings must be submitted
> - proof of loan granted by a lender."

Difficulties related to identification and other documentation from home affairs (such as birth certificates, marriage and death certificates).

Even if housing applicants were permitted to enter the details of their absent children on application forms – thereby complying with the requirement for "dependants" – they would face similar logistical difficulties as those encountered in accessing child support grants and other programmes: the problem of getting identity documents across the country to the right place at the right time.

For many years the presence of dependant children was not verified and the application form only required the initials, surname and age (not ID numbers) of a maximum of two dependants. This created a loophole in the eligibility assessments:

single people living without children could access a housing subsidy by writing down the name of a fictitious child or pretending that someone else's child was their own. This practice has been documented in some housing projects (see, for example, Huchzermeyer, 2002).

A consequence of limiting child dependants to two entries was that it was misconstrued: caregivers in the urban site talked of having to choose which of their children to "register" when they applied for housing, and there was a perception that the children entered on the subsidy application form would automatically inherit tenure rights. This is not the case.

During the research period a national directive from the housing department adjusted the application form: instead of capturing the names of only two children, there would be space to capture the names and identity numbers of up to 15 children. The reason for this was explicitly to prevent the fraudulent inclusion of children in subsidy applications (referred to by a departmental official as "rent-a-kid"). In 2005 the Department published guidelines to prevent the repetitive use of dependants' names to access housing subsidies. The Departmental guidelines stipulate that certified copies of bar-coded identity documents should be provided for every applicant as well as every household member and dependant. For children without ID books, a copy of the birth certificate should be provided. This information would then be entered in the National Housing Subsidy data base and checked against Department of Home Affairs data to validate the existence of each dependant, and to check that they have not already been "used" elsewhere in another subsidy application (Department of Housing, 2005).

There are many possible problems with this approach: first, difficulties in obtaining identity documents and birth certificates are a widespread and ongoing problem. Second, there is an assumption that children's living arrangements are static, and so they would not be dependants of different households at different times. Evidence points to the contrary: children are highly mobile for a range of reasons, and poverty alleviation programmes need to take this into account in their targeting.

There are no easy solutions. Targeting housing subsidies at mothers who want their absent children to be living with them, is one way of enabling children to access adequate housing (and all the services and amenities which should accompany it) through the subsidy scheme, and at the same time enabling more children to live with their mothers. However, the practicalities of targeting in this way would need careful consideration since such a targeting mechanism may be difficult to monitor and open to abuse in practice.

7.4 Knowledge & awareness

The housing subsidy scheme, being a topic of public debate and having reached an estimated 10 million people since 1994, is a fairly well-known poverty alleviation programme. While over 90% of surveyed caregivers in the urban subsidy housing project said they knew about the housing subsidy scheme, awareness was slightly lower in the older township of Village 3 (85% aware), and in the informal settlement (81%). An overwhelming 97% of the rural households knew about the housing subsidy scheme, which had been the topic of numerous community meetings and was highly visible across the three villages – not least because the subsidy houses were so different in appearance to the self-built mud houses that had been the main form of housing in the area. There is scope for raising knowledge of the programme in general. But in particular, knowledge gaps seemed to be related to the functioning of the scheme, and particularly how to follow up on applications when there is no sign that things are progressing.

7.4.1 Applications

The housing subsidy scheme requires that potential beneficiaries are proactive in claiming their entitlement by submitting an application – either individually or as part of a community group linked to a proposed housing development project or the People's Housing Process. Thus errors of exclusion may be the result of failure to claim the subsidy. In this survey, 746 children had caregivers who were defined as eligible for a housing subsidy but had not received one. Of these, 58% had applied for a subsidy.

In the informal settlement of Nkanini, a door-to-door campaign had been conducted to informal residents of their imminent removal to make way for a railway line and formal development, and a satellite office was established at a local crèche where local residents could apply for a housing subsidy. Nearly a third (31%) of the eligible caregivers had submitted housing applications, but had not (yet) received their subsidies. Similarly in the three Eastern Cape villages, there was a concerted effort to register residents for the rural housing subsidy. The developers, based in East London, had supervised a census of the area and trained local office bearers in the traditional council to complete application forms for all those who were eligible. Together with the traditional leadership structures, they then decided which households to prioritise. The vast majority of the eligible non-beneficiaries (81%) had applied for housing subsidies.

Table 6 Reported subsidy applications, by area type

Ever applied for a subsidy?	"Yes"	%
Village 3 (mixed housing)	52	43%
Nkanini (informal)	59	31%
Kuyasa (subsidy housing)	14	25%
Theko Springs (rural)	308	81%
Total (N)	**433**	**58%**

Note: Sub-sample is based on eligible households which have not received housing subsidies; unit of analysis is the child

Of the 312 cases where caregivers were found to be eligible for housing subsidies but had not applied, the majority (56%) said that they did not know how to apply. Nine percent said they did not need a house, 5% believed that they were not eligible and another 5% were not aware of the housing subsidy. "Other" responses amounted to 24% and were captured verbatim. The majority of these were cases where other people (a husband / mother / other family member) had applied for a housing subsidy, or where caregivers did not have ID or other required documentation.

7.4.2 Understanding the targeting and selection process

> I had registered for a house in Cape Town. It's my mother-in-law who was supposed to get a house here, but hers is also not coming out, because they say the queue is long…. No, my name hasn't come up in Cape Town, we made a request to the government that we didn't want to move from the area we were living in, in Site B in Cape Town, we want them to build our houses where we were. NomaIndia Mfeketo [Cape Town mayor at the time] said that that request for houses has been approved, the money has been given for houses to be built for people, but we are still waiting. But our request to build in that same area and not be moved has been not yet been approved.
> *[Nobuyile, 37, mother, Nkelekethe. Interviewed by Lindiwe Mthembu-Salter]*

Caregivers talked of endlessly waiting and wondering what was happening with their housing applications. Importantly, those whose housing situation was likely to be affected by developments in Nkanini were not adequately informed about plans and the consequences for their own housing situations. This left residents in a state of anxiety.

> And we live in the dark now, some people don't have numbers, they were told to stay even if they don't have numbers. We don't know what is happening, we don't know whether we are staying here because we are going to move or what is going to happen, there is no order to say now we shouldn't build or if we should build, we are just living here, we do not know what is going on. Maybe other people know what is going on, we don't know.
> *[Caregivers focus group, Nkanini. Interviewed by Nobonke Ntlokwana]*

Construction of the first government houses in the rural villages began in January 2003 after an initial household census and a long period of planning and selection.

There was a process of public meetings across all three villages, people were given a chance to apply for houses and signed up onto a list of housing applicants. A total of 1 390 applications were completed, which meant that there were too many applicants. The project was divided into two phases. In the first phase beneficiaries were selected for the first 450 houses. By mid 2006 approximately 250 houses had been built – mostly in Nkelekethe and Krakrayo, the poorest areas. Seven small-scale building contractors from outside the area were appointed to build the houses. But following allegations of poor workmanship, theft of building materials and general mismanagement, the project ground to a halt and the building contractors withdrew. Residents remained unsure whether the project would continue. In the meantime, residents had to make arrangements to store their own building materials.

> We are just waiting…. the only thing they said was that we should wait for our zinc sheets and doors. They gave us a door each, and then they said they will give us the second door when it is clear that the houses are continuing…. They are still waiting even now for it to continue, they don't know what will happen and when, but they're just waiting and they haven't got the houses yet. *[Neliswa, 27, unmarried mother, Theko Springs. Own interview.]*

7.5 Area targeting, agency and lack of choice

At policy level there appears to be an array of subsidies to choose from, and the individual targeting criteria are very broad. In practice, however, there is not much choice. The focus of housing delivery has been largely on large-scale projects to develop subsidised housing in urban areas, and the project-linked housing subsidy is the main instrument used. There are practical reasons for this: large-scale housing development projects yield more houses more quickly, are more cost-effective than small-scale or individual construction, and are typically accompanied by the installation of bulk infrastructure and road development. It is no coincidence that the greatest roll-out of new housing occurred soon after democracy, when housing delivery frequently meant the construction of formal "top-structures" on serviced land which had been developed under the apartheid government.

The sole purpose of the Kuyasa development, according to the project manager, is to relieve congestion in Site C, where one household out of four must be removed in order to make way for informal settlement upgrading. Around 80% of the Kuyasa sites are therefore allocated to households removed from the other end of Khayelitsha.

However, it is usual for housing projects to keep a small proportion of the properties for allocation to eligible households from the surrounding areas (called the "host communities"). According to the Ward Councillor, this serves a double purpose – it helps the "outsiders" to settle into the area, and prevents residents in the surrounding area from regarding the new settlement as foreign. The project manager was more blunt: there has been violence in previous projects where the entire population was imported from outside the area. Communities in adjacent settlements tend to perceive

that they have rights to the neighbouring land, and so it is politically necessary to include them in the allocations.

In the Kuyasa project, 240 sites were set aside for families from the "host" community. Although Kuyasa is bordered by Harare, Makhaza and Nkanni, these sites were allocated to households from Harare – with preference being given to people who were displaced by the illegal invasion of Thubelisha housing. Residents of Makhaza and Nkanini would not benefit from the development at all.

> I'm someone who registered for a house a long time ago, but I haven't got a house yet. I'm still going around paying rent. I had just recently asked the ANC people who were going door to door: 'how I am going to get a house?' you understand, because I'm paying rent. And they said that I should go and build over there [at Nkanini], and I said that I have never lived like that, I never grew up living like that. I don't understand how one can live in a shack. So because I pay rent I can't get an RDP house – I have to go and live over there in order to get an RDP house. *[Nontobeko, 35, married mother of two, renting a subsidy house in Kuyasa. Interviewed by Nosi Raba]*

By as early as the beginning of 2005 it was rumoured that the Khayelitsha railway was to be extended through the middle of Nkanini, that the area would be upgraded and that new land would be developed to provide more housing nearby. Throwing oneself in the path of all this meant the possibility of being "forcibly" removed to one of the serviced stands or subsidy houses that were being developed over the hill. The rapid expansion of Nkanini is partly the result of desperate opportunism by people who felt that their best chance of getting a formal house was to place their shack in the path of bulldozers.

In general, caregivers in Kuyasa felt that the quality of their housing had improved, and expressed gratitude for having a formal house with services – but does the housing process trade too much on this gratitude? The stories suggest that beneficiaries had little discretion in how to deploy the once-off subsidy to which they were entitled.

In the rural Eastern Cape villages, households were signed up for subsidy houses as part of a community-wide housing process. A few of the residents preferred not to apply, saying that they had no need of housing (most households already had two or three self-built dwellings). However, the vast majority of residents did apply for housing, as they were persuaded that they would also benefit from services – in particular, the delivery of toilets to their sites. There had been no attempt by the District Municipality or by the local leadership to explain that receipt of a housing subsidy in the rural area would render the beneficiary ineligible for any subsidy in the future, even if they were to move to the city. In this sense, beneficiaries were unable to make informed choices about where to deploy their one-off housing subsidy. This approach seems contrary to the intention of the subsidy scheme, which is a crucial mechanism for the upgrading of informal housing, primarily located in urban centres.

7.5.1 Bending the eligibility criteria to accommodate development objectives

As we have seen, there are specific criteria which must be fulfilled in order for an individual or household to qualify for a housing subsidy. However, given the spatial targeting of housing subsidies, there is potential for individual eligibility requirements to conflict with spatial development agendas – in other words, a household may qualify with the requirements, but its location may result in it being excluded from the spatially targeted households. Conversely, a household may be targeted through area-based projects and receive a subsidy even though it does not technically qualify with all the individual eligibility criteria. In embarking on a project to de-densify Site C and relocate a portion of residents to Kuyasa, housing officials estimated that around 25% of existing Site C residents would not qualify for housing subsidies on the grounds that their income was too high. In these instances, although they could not use the formal housing subsidy, it was possible to access alternative funding from the Human Settlement and Redevelopment Grant, which was established specifically so that municipalities could access additional funding in order to achieve informal settlement upgrading.

Non-qualifiers in Site C were "swapped out" with qualifying households. The qualifying households moved to Kuyasa, where they moved into formal houses. The non-qualifying households remained in Site C. "We will give them ownership of a serviced site – equivalent to a small portion of the subsidy – but they will not get a consolidation subsidy for the top structure," said a housing official.

7.5.2 Self-targeting: Individual agency and the People's Housing Process

Local government objectives drive housing development. So while it is possible in principle to access some kinds of housing subsidies through individual applications, this is not how most housing is delivered in practice. Unlike some other programmes (like the Child Support Grant or free health care) the rights-bearers have little individual agency to claim their entitlement to housing. The exception, which is emphasised in the housing policy, is where groups of people or "communities" mobilise to access housing through a collective process. This is the principle of the People's Housing Process, which also imposes certain duties and conditions outlined as specific requirements in the National Housing Code.

The People's Housing Process has been formally adopted by the national Department as a mechanism to access and deliver housing. In this process, community members with titles to serviced sites form groups to save money and access housing subsidies on a collective basis. The PHP, as it is commonly called. The idea is that, by investing their own savings and/or "sweat equity" in the form of their labour people can get more value for their subsidy and also participate in the housing development process. The model is derived from the more organic Federation approach, which entails collective planning and participation in decision-making and construction of houses.

7.5.3 Dual housing and family arrangements[23]

Findings from the housing sector indicate that the targeting mechanism can influence the composition of households or even the structure of communities (Huchzermeyer, 2002; Public Service Commission, 2003; Ross, 2003)

The design of the housing subsidy scheme is strongly oriented towards the concept of the nuclear family. This is in keeping with the family-based approach to the development of human settlements codified as "best practice" in the Habitat Agenda, 1996. The notion of a static nuclear family does not recognise the fluidity of household arrangements. Fiona Ross points out that "policy-making is predicated upon the average household and its characteristics…that presumes that households exist as discrete units prior to the implementation of development policies" (Ross & Spiegel 2000, cited in Ross, 2003:140). In her research she found that many more complex family and other relationships were manipulated by housing subsidy beneficiaries to gain access to housing, sometimes at significant cost in terms of social networks, care arrangements and an ability to insure against risk.

Available census results for South Africa show a drop in average household size nationally – from 4.5 in 1994 to 3.8 in 2001 – and it is quite possible that the delivery of small subsidy houses to over one and a half million households (more than a tenth of all households) has contributed to this decline. In 2006 the Department of Housing acknowledged that one of the broader impacts of the subsidy has been a reduction of household size, through "manoeuvering to get benefits"[24] – although this was never an express intention of the scheme.

Another consequence of subsidy scheme requirements is the artificial construction of families where none exist. Eligibility is conditional on the applicant either having a spouse or permanent partner, or dependant children. Older people in need of housing frequently have neither – for instance the exclusion of a widow whose adult children have left home and established their own families. There have been reports of both beneficiaries and housing officials circumventing this problem by arranging for the "adoption" of children who may be recorded as dependants on the application form, thereby rendering the prospective applicant eligible.

This had occurred, for instance, in case studies of informal settlement upgrading projects where potential housing beneficiaries were in danger of being disqualified because of a lack of dependants. It was found that "officials in both case study projects had attempted to accommodate non-qualifying households. 'We arrange for them to adopt a child' was the response to situation where, for instance, elderly

[23] Much of this section is drawn from a previous paper of mine, Hall 2005
[24] Mark Napier (Acting Director in the Department of Housing, now at Urban LandMark – personal communication)

widows did not qualify, as their children had formed their own households and might themselves be applying for subsidies." (Huchzemeyer 2002, cited in Hall, 2005). The consequences for children living in smaller or reconstituted households remain to be investigated.

Households are far from static, and fluid links remain between urban and rural areas – partly due to migrant labour. Many families continue to be divided. Urbanisation does not necessarily mean a permanent shift in the location of households, but can mean the maintenance of multiple households. Two thirds of caregivers living in the urban site reported that they had "another home" – with over 90% of these other homes being in the Eastern Cape. Many of the "other homes" would be family homes, belonging to parents or family members. But 24% of urban caregivers also specified that they themselves owned other homes somewhere else, which should arguably exclude them from a housing subsidy. A quarter of the rural caregivers also had "another home", with the majority again being in the Eastern Cape. Only 4% of the rural caregivers owned another home, suggesting that those living in rural areas were less likely to have dual properties.

7.6 The need for secure tenure

The definition of adequate housing (as defined in the Housing Act and elsewhere) includes security of tenure. The Constitutional Court has ruled that the right of access to adequate housing includes access to land for housing.[25] Because Makhaza was originally a site and service scheme (and the sites – though not necessarily the people on them – have therefore technically received the first half of a subsidy investment) the consolidation subsidy is the only form of subsidy available for residents who want to stay there. This means that residents are entitled only to a portion of a subsidy, even if they themselves have not received a previous subsidy. And before they can apply for a subsidy, they must have proof that they own the property.

7.6.1 Title deeds and municipal arrears

Of the 126 households surveyed in Village 3, the vast majority (91%) defined themselves as owners. Fifty five percent said they had owned their sites since before 1994, while the others had moved there subsequently. It was not possible in the survey to determine whether households held valid title deeds to their properties, but it became apparent from interviews with local officials and caregivers that the requirement of undisputed tenure rights has been one of the barriers to accessing adequate housing through the subsidy scheme.

Many of the original beneficiary households left the area, returned to their old homes or never moved to the new sites at all – possibly because (as described by those who

[25] Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others v. Irene Grootboom and Others (2000)

stayed) it was so under-resourced and remote, far from public transport routes. According to local representative structures, many of the allocated sites were occupied by other households who did not have title deeds but needed somewhere to live and found serviced sites available. Although this is technically a form of illegal land occupation, it has been the status quo for some years, and there are many political, social and legal reasons why it makes more sense to formalise the tenure rights of existing occupants rather than evict them. However, to do so requires the consent of the legal owners, who have been difficult to trace. Finally, after publicising its intention to transfer title to existing occupants and inviting legal owners to come forward, the municipality embarked in 2004 on a process of registering occupants as owners. In order to qualify, occupants had to declare that there was no dispute over the property, and had to pay R850 to cover the transfer costs.

In some cases, sites had been sold to the current occupants. However, the sale of properties was not always legal. This is related to low awareness and lack of formal mechanisms of support in the low-cost housing property market, resulting in informal arrangements which provide no security of tenure to the buyer (for instance, where title deeds are literally handed over, rather than registering formal transfer in the deeds office). In these cases, occupants who have bought property are unable to access consolidation subsidies until they have registered title.

Bongiwe is a single mother. She comes from Queenstown but now lives in a shack in Village 3. Two of her children live with her, and another older child has returned to the Eastern Cape. Bongiwe's partner, who is not the father of her children, is a former anti-apartheid activist. He was imprisoned on Robben Island and later, after democracy, was offered a job as a tour guide at the prison. He provides some support to the household but seldom stays there because he lives on Robben Island.

Bongiwe herself has a casual job as a domestic worker. She managed to save R5 000 and bought a site in Village 3 in 2000. The previous occupants had decided to leave after a fire which destroyed a number of backyard shacks on the property as well as the main house.

> *"It was not a house, it was a site because this area was burnt, so they gave me this plot for R5 000 and there wasn't even an electricity box. I bought the electricity box for R500 with my own money. So I haven't had the money to change the title…. They gave me the title [deed] but I haven't changed it yet, it's still in their name."*

It was more than five years later that a neighbour suggested she try submitting an application for a house through one of the 'projects'.

> *"So I went to the project people, and explained to them that I don't have the money to change the title yet, because this situation is my responsibility, it's all my responsibility, even at home [in the Eastern Cape] I am the one who pays the rent…. and then that brother said I can apply in the meantime."*

In order to submit the application, Bongiwe had to contact the previous owners and get additional documentation from them, including copies of both their ID documents and their marriage certificate. These were submitted along with her own documentation and child's birth certificate. The application was submitted in January 2006, but by September the title had still not been changed, and there was no further information on the status of her application. Technically, she should not qualify for a consolidation subsidy until the property has been formally transferred. But Bongiwe's concern is that she did not have proper information.

> *"So people can't give you good advice… people say that you can't change and have a house built for you if you haven't changed the title. It turns out that I could have had the house a long time ago if I had gone to them."*

There is a twist to the story: Bongiwe describes how the previous occupants moved to Site B and built a shack near the station. Here, they were targeted for removal to Kuyasa, where they now live in a new subsidy house despite having owned a subsidy house before. *[Own interview]*

Unpaid service accounts can block access to housing subsidies, since title cannot be transferred to a new owner if municipal accounts are in arrears. The city instituted a free basic water policy in which the first six kilolitres per month are provided free of charge, with a moratorium on disconnections for arrears. Nevertheless, households in the urban site continued to receive accounts for rates and water, and many accounts reflect very high arrears (researchers recorded outstanding amounts of over R20 000 on utility bills). Arrears accumulated over a number of years, in some cases reflecting the cumulative arrears of different occupants. Although there are no direct penalties in the form of service disconnections, the impossibility of paying off high arrears can constitute a barrier to the sale of housing and subsidy access. And where property is sold informally, it is the new occupants (like Bongiwe) who are faced with having to pay off an inherited debt.

7.6.2 Succession

As with other poverty alleviation programmes, the need for personal documentation can be a barrier to housing. Examples of this emerged in interviews with caregivers. Transfer of property takes place not only through resale, but also through inheritance. We spoke to a widow, Nothemba, whose husband had applied for the subsidy and joined a group savings scheme in order to top up the subsidy and build a house that could accommodate their children and grandchildren. But her husband had cancer and after a long illness died intestate before the house was completed. Nothemba, already in her mid-50's, wanted to finish building the house and transfer the property to her adult daughter. "That's what I was hoping… I could add to this house and then get a roof… even if it's asbestos or zinc, I could put that up and leave because I want to go home [to the Eastern Cape]." Nothemba married her husband in a civil ceremony in the King Williams Town magistrate's court in 1978. After his death she found that although she still had the physical marriage certificate, she could not inherit or transfer the property because "my marriage is not the computer marriage…. When they checked on the computer, I wasn't there." What ensued was a costly trip, which left her no better off:

> They said I should go there [to King Williams Town], that's where they will fix this title business and change it into my child's name
> - *Did you go?*
> I went and when I got there they sent me to the lawyers, but then I couldn't afford that money. This place would have been in Zanele's name a long time ago, I wanted to leave it in Zanele's name.

The property remains in her deceased husband's name, and it is unclear how this will be resolved without another visit to the Eastern Cape and more money for legal costs. On top of this, the municipal accounts are getting further into arrears.

> Even the water thing, when it comes, it still has my husband's name on it, the water letters…. I'm the one who takes them, I'm the one who sometimes goes there, so maybe if I have R20 I go and pay it there, because they said you could pay whatever money that you have. When he was still alive he used to pay the municipality money, he paid it, there are records, he used to pay the rent, but he stopped when he became ill…" *[Interviewed by Lindiwe Mthembu-Salter]*

Problems with transfer could be alleviated to some extent through awareness raising and greater consumer support. Much of the housing policy focuses on strengthening the low- to middle-income property market, and the mobilisation of credit forms part of the Department's seven-pronged strategy to implement the housing policy. Over the years, the Department has entered into agreements with the Association of Mortgage Lenders, supported the development of niche market lenders and established parastatals such as the Mortgage Indemnity Fund and National Housing Finance Corporation to support the growth of a viable low- to middle-income housing market. However, although housing policy has tended to focus on ownership models as a means of securing tenure, a secondary housing market has not emerged and there is little institutional support for buyers and sellers who are not in the credit finance

bracket. For instance, the provision of free legal services could help to alleviate blockages at the lower end of the market. Although transfer duty is no longer applicable to properties valued below R500 000 legal fees may still be charged and this may be a financial obstacle to poor households who purchase properties privately.

7.6.3 Housing subsidies and communal land rights

The rural subsidy programme enables households who have "defined and undisputed informal land rights" to access the housing subsidy to provide for their housing needs. It is limited to households living on state-owned land in areas falling under traditional tenure. However, the houses in the rural site could not be transferred formally to the beneficiaries because there was no clear mechanism to do so. Although the land is nominally the property of the Department of Land Affairs, it is administered under communal tender, making it difficult to transfer freehold title.

According to the district municipality and the provincial Department of Land Affairs, housing cannot be transferred until general layout plans are registered with the Surveyor General. The Communal Land Rights Act (CLRA) makes provision for two tenure arrangements: communal and individual tenure. The tenure option in a rural community is subject to a consensus decision, for instance a community may decide to adopt individual land rights. A number of questions arise:

What constitutes consensus – and is it realistic to expect that a majority consensus is possible? (There are a range of other related issues, including the fact that there are physical, political and social divisions within the "community", that women are under-represented in traditional leadership structures, and that "consensus" means little without informed discussion, which requires that community members have a thorough understanding of the consequences of tenure options.)

How to resolve the problem that, in terms of CLRA, land is transferred to "current occupants", but formal property rights are held by individuals. The need for individual tenure is complicated by the fact that households are large and fluid.

How to define clear individual property defined in the context of multiple generation households? The land and top structure are inseparable, but in this project some of the housing subsidy beneficiaries were not the people to whom the land was originally allocated. There were cases, for instance, where an elderly woman held occupation rights, but her adult child was listed as the subsidy beneficiary. The subsidy beneficiary would be rendered ineligible for a further subsidy, but may not have property rights if freehold title were transferred to the originally defined rights-holders. Conversely, if individual title were transferred to the subsidy beneficiary, the original occupants would lose their land rights. This created a catch-22 which, according to the land official, was rooted in the essential problem: that housing

subsidies should not have been allocated before the complex issue of land rights was resolved.

Because legal transfer was not possible, beneficiaries were initially not given "transfer papers" or keys to their subsidy houses, which stood empty and locked for months. A number of houses were vandalised, with locks and windows being broken, and the district municipality eventually provided households keys, without title deeds, in an effort to stem the vandalism.

People who have been allocated land and built houses might justifiably be regarded as home-owners, even though they do not have title deeds. If the intention of the subsidy is to provide a home and secure tenure for the "un-housed" population, then arguably it should exclude rural households who have successfully housed themselves on land to which they have tenure rights (for instance, through the permission-to-occupy or "PTO" system).

In effect, the rural subsidy was being used as a consolidation subsidy, but failed to improve the land to which community members held occupation rights (for instance, by providing service infrastructure). Nor did it result in greater security of tenure through the transfer of freehold title. At worst, the implementation of the rural subsidy resulted in greater confusion about land rights, divisions within families, environmental harm through the dumping of new building materials that are not biodegradable, and the widespread loss of eligibility for housing subsidies that might have supported urbanisation, since subsidy beneficiaries are immediately rendered ineligible for a further house. In the meantime, some beneficiaries bore the responsibility of transporting and storing building materials, amidst uncertainty over whether they would actually receive land or housing. According to one resident:

> Girls who do not even have sites yet received that material. They are still going to look for sites, but they are going to have houses built for them in that way. *[Nowandile, 39, mother married to migrant worker. Interviewed by Nosi Raba]*

7.7 Mass applications – and the possibility of perverse incentives

A third (32%) of children living in the informal settlement had caregivers who had already applied for a housing subsidy before the start of the research, although only five caregivers in the area reported having received a subsidy before. Subsequent to the survey, residents were informed of the plans to build a railway through the area, and there were public announcements inviting all residents to apply for housing subsidies. As a result, some residents applied twice. In effect, the original applications were discounted. This illustrates how difficult it is for eligible applicants to access housing subsidies independently, while households living in areas identified for development can hardly avoid being included.

A mass registration process in Nkanini started on the day of the Mayor's visit. Selected community members who had passed matric were trained to take down applications. Registration took place in a small informal building on the property of a crèche. There are no public venues within Nkanini, and the largest buildings belong to two privately-owned crèches. The more central of these (closest to the main road) is often used for community meetings and doubled as a voting station in the 2006 local government elections.

It was business as usual in the main building, with care-givers looking after about 30 children. At the same time, the registration process was taking place in the cramped corrugated iron structure in a corner of the site. Once they were finished, applicants were given stickers to confirm that they had applied for a subsidy. For some, it was not the first sticker they had received. But things felt different this time because everyone knew that the area was going to be developed and relocation was inevitable.

> Okay, with these ones what happened was that they did the registration and when they were finished registering people they would give you a sticker that is this size, and they would say: that sticker is your house, you should keep it safe, you should not lose it because if you lose it you must know that you have lost your house. I don't know whether they were campaigning for the vote or what was going on, I just didn't know. Everybody in this area is keeping those things… *[Thobeka, 47, grandmother, Nkanini. Interviewed by Nosi Raba]*

The housing options had vastly different appeal and were already a source of tension. There were three main options for shack dwellers:

- 1 500 sites were being prepared in the sand just over the hill, at the back of Kuyasa. This was not an attractive option, partly because of the sand (which is the fine white sand of sand-dunes, blows in the wind and covers the roads), and partly because they would be even further away from facilities such as schools, clinics, shops and transport.

- Some residents were to be moved to land previously belonging to a farm which the municipality has accessed for housing. Situated on the other side of the N2 freeway, this land was regarded as even more remote – residents would have to get to Bellville in order to link to public transport systems to Cape Town.

- The lucky residents would be those who are not in the way of the railway line, and do not have to be immediately removed. They would benefit from the upgrading of Nkanini, and stand to become owners of formal houses within easy reach of public transport, not to mention the facilities and economic opportunities that are envisaged as part of the station complex. Because the railway runs next to the road, it is likely that residents who will be removed from the area entirely will be some of the earliest occupants, who established their shacks near to the road and the communal services.

SANCO representatives voiced concern that a considerable number of shack dwellers were previous subsidy beneficiaries who sold their houses and moved to the informal settlement. “These people will have nowhere to go; they must go back where they came from,” said SANCO members.

Chapter 8 Housing outcomes for children & families

8.1 Housing and household services

Government has a constitutional obligation to provide services to all citizens (eg, water, energy, health and essential facilities), wherever they reside (Office of the President, 2006). In reality, however, many households are still without basic services. The level of services available to households is determined largely by their physical location and dwelling type. As already discussed, the urban site consisted of three quite heterogeneous areas, whereas the three villages that made up the rural site were similar to one another, albeit with slightly different levels of infrastructure.

Table 7 below summarises the housing type and services available to households in the three adjacent areas of the urban site and the rural site. National statistics are provided alongside for comparison. These are based on child-centred analyses of household data, and only on households where children are resident. Thus, according to national data from the General Household Survey, 69% of households in which children live occupy formal dwellings and 80% are connected to the electrical grid, but only 37% of these households have a water supply in their dwelling and 34% have an inside toilet.[26]

Table 7 Housing and municipal services, by area type

	Urban: Formal / mixed housing on 'site-and-service' land (Village 3) (n=126)	Urban: Formal housing in new subsidy housing development (Kuyasa) (n=66)	Urban: Informal settlement on unserviced land (Nkanini) (n=116)	Rural: 3 villages in Centane district (n=184)	General Household Survey 2006
HOUSING					
- formal dwelling	66%	98%	-	10%	69%
- informal dwelling / shack	34%	2%	100%		17%
- 'traditional' dwelling / rondavel	-	-	-	90%	14%
- ave. rooms in dwelling	3.3 rooms	3.0 rooms	1.7 rooms	3.8 rooms	4.3 rooms
- mean household size	5.0 people	4.7 people	3.6 people	5.3 people	5.1 people
- people per room	1.8 pp/room	2.2 pp/room	2.6 pp/room	1.8 pp/room	
MAIN WATER SOURCE					
- tap inside dwelling	28%	98%	-	-	37%
- tap on site (outside)	70%	2%	-	-	29%
- communal tap / off site	2%	-	100%	7%	20%
- tank / zozo / borehole / other	-	-	-	3%	6%
- none (natural source / stream)				90%	9%

[26] For more child-centred analyses of national statistics, see www.childrencount.ci.org.za.

SANITATION					
- flush toilet in dwelling	21%	97%	-	-	34%
- flush toilet on site (outside)	72%	3%	1%	-	17%
- pit latrine on site	-	-	-	29%	37%
- flush toilet / pit latrine off site	6%	-	55%	-	2%
- none / bucket	1%	-	44%	71%	10%
ELECTRICITY					
- mains supply	96%	100%	-	52%	80%
- illegal connection / unpaid	2%	-	7% (under-reported)	-	(not captured)
- none	2%	-	93%	48%	20%

Sources: The Means to Live household survey; General Household Survey 2006
Note: unit of analysis is the child

Immediately striking is the improvement in access to services for children who live in the new subsidy housing project of Kuyasa. Most of these households were relocated from Site C, an informal settlement with poor municipal services.

The City of Cape Town, acknowledging that a third of the city's population lives below the subsistence level, developed an indigent tariff policy for services. The differential tariff structure enables cross-subsidisation so that free services can be provided to "indigent" households with little or no income. Formal households with service connections can benefit from these pro-poor tariff structures. The free basic services allocated to indigent households are considered to be the minimum adequacy requirement. However, children and their households in the informal settlement of Nkanini could not access even these basic services because the infrastructure was not in place.

"We live in an area that is *imbacu*," said a group of caregivers in Nkanini. *Imbacu* describes a place that is less than informal, that has nothing. Despite Nkanini's rapid growth, there has been no increase in the supply of basic services. This is explained in terms of the plan to extend a railway line through the area. Households in the path of the railway line and station would be removed to a new settlement over the hill, while other parts of the settlement may be formalised. In the meantime, residents make do with the minimal services provided.

8.2 Children and informality

Children living in the informal settlement of Nkanini were, by definition, those whose households had not benefited from subsidies. At the time of the research the settlement was seriously under-serviced.

The occupation was technically illegal, and the council did not want to encourage greater influx by "rewarding" the occupiers with services. Initially, the planned response was to remove occupiers from the land, and so there was no sense in

investing in infrastructure. Later, there were plans to upgrade the settlement and develop formal sites – which meant that services had to wait for the proper development of the underground infrastructure. However, while temporary or emergency water and sanitation services can be (and were) supplied through communal access points, there is no equivalent for electricity. There were no electrical connections at all, other than the illegal and sometimes dangerous connections which drew electricity from some of the adjacent formal houses. In the absence of electricity, most of the informal households used paraffin stoves for cooking. These are notoriously dangerous, not only because of the poisonous fumes and possibility of paraffin poisoning, but also because of the risk of fires which can spread quickly amongst shacks and pose a serious risk to children and babies.

A group of residents attending a pre-election ANC rally in March 2006 spoke about how they had tried to persuade the council to provide more communal taps because of the difficulties they had accessing water. Six shacks had burnt down the previous week, and there was no water to put out the fire. Explicit promises of service improvements and new housing delivery were made by local government – in particular by the city manager Wallace Mgoqi, who was later fired from the Council. The promised taps hadn't materialised.

Caregivers spoke of their concerns about raising children in the informal settlement, which was considered dangerous for children for many reasons ranging from the lack of basic services and associated health hazards, to the sub-standard and overcrowded housing.

> Living in a shack with children is not safe. I have small baby, I live in my shack that is draughty and my child is sick and all that. So this area that we live in is always cold so the children are sick all the time, and they have chest problems.

There was much discussion of crime, with caregivers describing Nkanini as a place where it was unsafe to leave children alone, and the fact that when there was an emergency, health facilities were far away and ambulances were unable to enter the settlement because of the lack of roads. It seems children from Nkanini are also at risk outside the area because of the perception that Nkanini is a place of criminals and "dirty" people. Children from the informal settlement have been ostracized and bullied by other children in the surrounding area. High school boys from Makhaza spoke at length about the problem of Nkanini, describing the impact of poverty and poor services on neighbouring areas.

> As Makhaza is getting developed and improving there are many people from other areas who raise the crime rate, and Nkanini is the one that has brought more crime here in Makhaza, and littering here in Makhaza. Just when we were thinking that Makhaza is getting clean, Nkanini came. They don't have rubbish bins there so they throw away papers in the bins that we get here in Makhaza. And the criminals go and sell stuff in Nkanini. And in Nkanini they have toilets that smell, but the people don't get water so they damage our taps and our taps break and we don't know what to do because of the people from Nkanini. And when the people from

> Nkanini don't have electricity they want to get electricity from our homes, and you find that one home is giving electricity to 10 houses and then the power keeps failing all the time here in Makhaza because they are people who don't buy electricity. *[Grade 10 boys, Chris Hani High School, Village 3. Interviewed by Nobonke Ntlokwana*]

A mother in Nkanini told how she had sent her child to live with his grandmother in the Eastern Cape soon after he started school, simply because she could not afford the regular cost of transport to get him from the informal settlement to the school at Kuyasa, and he was molested and bullied by other (older) children when he walked. Other caregivers talked of children from Nkanini being victimized when they used school buses.

> The next day when you tell the child to go to school; "No I'm afraid to take the bus, I'll take a taxi or I won't go to school" and the child ends up pretending to be sick because s/he's afraid to take the bus, because they are fighting on the buses. *[Caregivers focus group, Nkanini. Interviewed by Nobonke Ntlokwana]*

8.3 Inflexibility of design

As shown in Table 7 above, rural households in "traditional" dwellings had more members, on average, than urban households, and occupied more habitable "rooms". Rather than single dwellings with multiple rooms, housing units were usually separate rondavels or *amaqande* (square, flat-roofed structures). Where formal subsidy houses had been constructed, this was often simply another "room" in the compound, which some residents said they used over the Christmas period to accommodate children who returned for the holidays. They were certainly not large enough to accommodate an entire household, and simply supplemented the living space already available to beneficiaries. The small size of the houses was a problem in the urban area too.

8.3.1 Urban subsidy housing

Kuyasa phase 1 consists of a grid of streets, many of which have smaller roads radiating from them, leading to keyhole-shaped dead ends. The subsidy houses, all built by the contracting company, are standard square 36m^2 cement brick houses. Unlike most of the older stands in neighbouring Makhaza, these have an internal water supply and toilet, and are fitted with pre-paid meters for electricity. The houses are built according to a standard plan: an open plan living and kitchen area in an L-shape, with a small separate bathroom (toilet and basin) in one corner (a "wet core") to make up the square. Many of the residents, preferring not to live in these open "halls" as they are referred to, have subdivided the insides of the houses, to create a smaller living space and a tiny private bedroom. Various methods are used for the division: some are formally divided with an internal brick or hardboard wall, while others simply use a cupboard, wall unit or curtain to divide the space and create some privacy. A year after completion, many of the houses were already being renovated and extended.

Complaints of small and substandard houses have been well documented over the years. The intention of the scheme is to provide beneficiaries with a starter home, a core dwelling which can be renovated and extended, or alternatively an asset which can eventually be used to trade up in the housing market. In the context of stagnant property markets and low resale value, however, trading up is not a feasible option for most, and so it is necessary to extend the house in order to accommodate families. In Kuyasa (and many other housing developments) however, the plots are so small that there is not much room for expansion. Houses that are semi-detached or built in rows cannot be extended. Freestanding houses are so close together that, contrary to municipal building regulations, some of them end up touching on the boundary after being extended.

> Well it is built, but these houses are small, we have many children - you can see it inside, it's packed…. Even my family can't spend the night if they come, you see, because it's small. And we were the ones who partitioned them. When we got them they were halls, so some people who had their own money partitioned them with bricks, they bought bricks and divided their houses inside and created rooms. Because I'm struggling I looked for ceiling boards, I have partitioned it with ceiling boards so it's different patches. And some that were thrown away, I would pick those up and use them to partition it….The fact that I partitioned a dining-room, it is small, if someone comes I stand up and open up space for someone to sit, and I have to stand maybe over there until the person leaves. I will only be able to sit when the person leaves because there is little space… and we have no land to build, we have no money to build. *[Nonzwakazi, 44, mother and housing subsidy beneficiary, Kuyasa. Interviewed by Nosi Raba]*

> We do have houses, we are not criticizing but our houses were not built in the right way, but then our children, some of them have asthma, most of our children have chest problems and asthma, and most all of the time we have a problem with houses that sweat inside. *[Caregivers focus group, Kuyasa. Interviewed by Nobonke Ntlokwana]*

Kuyasa is literally a suburb of houses. A new clinic was built on its periphery, but in all other respects the development was devoid of any social amenities. Although it shares the same name, Kuyasa Primary School is actually at the edge of Harare, a considerable walk away for the children. The only shops are spazas operating from private houses or shacks that have been erected.

> We came to these houses and they had no rooms, they were not partitioned, they were not plastered inside or outside. We were like people who were thrown away here; most people went back to the shacks because they couldn't handle living here because this area is like a desert you see. There are no shops, there's no place, so if you have gone shopping you must shop "till the end" and you feel that you are buying so much that you will never need anything. The important thing here is that it was nice when we came because there was water and there were toilets and we were excited, we didn't have toilets [before]. And they came and installed electricity, so it was good. But nothing has been developed after we came to live here. *[Caregivers focus group, Kuyasa. Interviewed by Nobonke Ntlokwana]*

There are plans to open a crèche in a container, and one small park had been erected in a sandy space between the houses. Other than this there were no communal spaces or public venues of any kind. After a long search for a suitable place to conduct a focus group, the research team had to request the use of a private house which had not

yet been divided inside, so that 10 people could sit on chairs. The lack of community resources is a concern for caregivers, who feel that there is no safe space for people to congregate outside their homes. Caregivers talked of a range of repercussions for children, including a lack of social cohesion where neighbours do not trust each other or open their homes to children who need a place to wait before or after school, while their mothers are at work. There had been a number of rapes in the area and mothers were worried about the safety of their children.

> They should try to build a centre for us, even if they could put a place for us here in Kuyasa, just create a place to see what we could do as unemployed women of Kuyasa, like the places like Makhaza where they have those rondavels. If they could build that and fence it and see if we wouldn't come with our machines and if we wouldn't cook soups there that would feed the people, that would bring back these children, and we would ask the teachers to come and help us in what we are thinking after school, where we would take care of the children after school. *[Caregivers focus group, Kuyasa. Interviewed by Nobonke Ntlokwana]*

8.3.2 Savings schemes and the Homeless People's Federation

The formal houses in Village 3 are mostly built out of cement blocks, and are unplastered and unpainted. The majority had been built using money from the consolidation subsidy, but there are variations in how the subsidy is used, and in the size and quality of the houses. The smallest ($30m^2$) subsidy houses are those built by companies or private contractors. Houses built by independent contractors through the People's Housing Process are slightly larger ($40m^2$ or more, depending on the personal investment made by the home-owner).

Caregivers talked of the relative advantages of different housing options. Standard subsidy houses were regarded as very small (nicknamed *Vezinyawo* – 'the feet stick out'), and sometimes even more cramped than shacks. Nevertheless, they were described as preferable to shacks because the risk of fire was reduced, and the services were better.

The biggest houses are those built by the Homeless People's Federation – referred to simply as "the Federation" – where subsidies are topped up with money from the group savings scheme. Federation houses in the area are bigger than project-linked subsidy houses, ranging up to $80m^2$ or more in size.

Caregivers described the advantages of joining a savings group and supplementing the subsidy, which was not regarded as sufficient for building materials. There was a distinction between group schemes and government housing, linked to a misconception that if one got a house through a group savings scheme such as the Federation, then one had not received a subsidy – "This has nothing to do with the RDP ones… this is the Federation." While this was true of the original Federation houses in the Western Cape, it is not necessarily still the case – the Federation in the Western Cape is able to access housing subsidies on behalf of members, and combines the subsidy with member savings to provide bigger, better houses.

> [The Federation] would open the school, and they would call you and explain, and show you the walls, and how these houses are built, and they would show you and then you would choose one…. They were doing a good job, because the people's houses are big, they have garages, they do everything well, you can see when you pass by that this is a house, yes they do a good job…. The difference with Federation is that they build the house that you asked for you see? If you say that you want 58m^2, they build that, and you build a big house that you want. That's Federation, they build the house that you want in your site, and you build it, but you add with your own money.
> *[Nothemba, 53, widowed mother & grandmother, Village 3. Interviewed by Lindiwe Mthembu-Salter]*

Although consolidation subsidies are available for residents who own their properties, considerable individual and collective agency is required. This is reflected even in the names of the savings schemes, which reflect determination, optimism and trust amongst members (names can be translated as "Let us build", "We are trying", "We will succeed", "Our promise", "Wake up!", and so on).

Apart from the bigger, better houses, an advantage of the group schemes is that subsidy applications are completed on site with the assistance of representatives from the housing department. This removes the need for members to leave the area and deal with officials at the municipal offices.

8.3.3 Rural housing

Rural subsidies can, in theory, be used for service provision or construction of houses, or a combination of these – but are only available on a project basis, where beneficiaries are supported by implementing agents (no individual subsidies are available to rural households).

The people of rural Theko Springs anticipated that a subsidised housing project would bring better services to their communities. As the *Nkosi* explained, "We did not have a road here in Theko Springs; what helped was the coming of housing, when they came to build houses for us…. I said to our people, let's accept this thing because they say these things will be put right inside, in our yards. So we accepted this [housing] thing, and we were told that when they are going to build these houses, there will be roads, there will be water, there will be electricity and toilets as well." A district municipality official agreed that this was the ideal scenario, but that it didn't happen in practice: "The ideal situation is that you start with the infrastructure and then the houses – but tell the politicians that!" *[Engineer, Amathole District Municipality]*

Unlike project-linked housing developments elsewhere, housing in the rural villages did not bring with it services and infrastructure. The housing portion of the subsidy was used for the construction of a single room dwelling – effectively treating the rural subsidy as a consolidation subsidy. Water infrastructure, toilets and electricity did not form part of the package. Three years after the first houses were built, materials for pit latrines were delivered to some of the households in the village of Theko Springs, which is where the *Nkosi* lives.

Although the rural housing subsidy is meant to be a more flexible instrument – for instance, enabling beneficiaries to use materials to renovate or extend houses, or build fences to protect vegetable gardens – in practice it was implemented according to rigid guidelines, The total subsidy of R13 720 per dwelling was broken down into specified components, with cost breakdown: 900 bricks, 3 airbricks, 25 roof ties, two doors with frames and lever locksets, 2kg of 100mm wire nails, silicone sealant, specified weight of cement and building mortar sand, etc. Like a puzzle, these materials could only be used to produce standard 40m^2 cement block units which, as described above, were of little use to many of the beneficiary households.

Arguably, the ideal outcome of a comprehensive housing strategy is not only the provision of housing units, but the improvement of living environments and, ultimately, better livelihoods. This was not the case for rural households, and children continue to sit and play on the piles of cement bricks lining the roads.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

The primary research set out to determine the eligible population and calculate uptake of the housing subsidy, from the perspective of children. In this case – two research sites which had particularly poor populations and where housing development projects were underway – the vast majority of children's caregivers were eligible, and the errors of exclusion were extensive.

Those who were able to access housing were mainly households where caregivers already had access to land (for instance, through traditional occupation rights or historic site and service schemes) and were effectively applying for consolidation subsidies. Targeted beneficiaries also included those whose dwellings needed to be removed in order for development plans to proceed. This created a perverse situation where it made sense for households to throw themselves in the way of development and be forcibly removed, as in the case of Nkanini. Those who failed to access housing subsidies (errors of exclusion) were likely to be poorer, younger and with younger children than those who benefited from the housing programme.

Ostensibly aimed at the most needy, there are flaws in the housing programme which result in the exclusion of children who are particularly vulnerable in some respect. This evaluation contains numerous and recurring examples of conceptual and implementation weaknesses in the targeting of housing policy because the applicant or beneficiary is considered out of context. At the level of conceptualisation, the housing subsidy discriminates against parents and children who live apart precisely *because* parents are unable to offer their children appropriate living environments. Single mothers cannot include their absent children on a subsidy application form in order to satisfy the eligibility requirements. This is a significant oversight, both in terms of the extent (20% of children have living biological mothers who are staying elsewhere) and possible consequences for children.

From a child's perspective, the housing subsidy is targeted at the household where the child is currently living, and so maintains the status quo. A more progressive approach may be for it to target the potential future home of the child in order to enable movement of children so that strategic choices can be made about children's co-residence with adults, the environments in which they live, access to social infrastructure and so on. In this way, the housing policy would start to redress the historical separation of families, much of which resulted from the migrant labour system, apartheid legislation on population movement and the structural under-provisioning of housing in urban areas. Failure to recognise the complexities of children's living environments can result in exclusion from the very programmes

designed to assist them. These are the *unintended* effects of targeting at the level of conceptualisation.

It is certainly not the intention of the housing policy to provide households with two homes – one in the town and one in the country. Yet the Housing Subsidy Scheme effectively allows for dual homeownership in that rural residents may choose to retain their rural land and dwellings, while also applying for a subsidy house somewhere else. If, on the other hand, rural households apply for a rural subsidy, they simply retain traditional rights to the land that they already occupy, and are rendered ineligible for further land or housing subsidies anywhere else. The logical choice for rural households then, is to decline offers of a rural subsidy and so retain their chances of qualifying for a subsidy house should they move to an urban area. However, there was no evidence to indicate that people in the rural site made this calculation. Wide-spread roll-out of the rural subsidy may prove to be an obstacle to housing provision for mothers and children in the context of urbanization, unless they happen to live in an urban informal settlement which is part of an *in situ* formal upgrading process. In terms of current policy (Department of Housing, 2004a and Chapter 13 of the National Housing Code), informal residents do not have to qualify for the first part of the subsidy (serviced land), but would still need to meet eligibility criteria for housing provision (Marie Huchzermeyer, pers comm 2010).

The research suggests a range of unintended exclusions across the programmes at the level of conceptualisation. For instance, access to housing and other poverty reduction programmes is generally contingent on being able to provide identity documents and other certificates from Home Affairs, which in themselves can be difficult for the poorest people to obtain. Lack of awareness about programmes can result in exclusions, where people who are eligible do not come forward to claim the benefit or are unable to follow up on applications and negotiated with housing officials.

There are some areas in which the means test is unclear and open to interpretation or abuse. One is the question of exactly whose income should be included (i.e. who are the joint applicants). Another relates to ambiguity about what type of income should be included for purposes of the means test calculations. The static income threshold for the housing subsidy, which remained set at R1 500 for the first 10 years, was effectively adjusted in 2004 by extending subsidies to applicants with incomes under R3 500. However, if this poverty line is not continuously adjusted it risks falling behind inflation, effectively narrowing the target population. An inherent problem with means-tested eligibility criteria is that an income poverty line is quite arbitrary. Not only do the poverty lines fail to take into account household size (and an attempt to do so would be inappropriate precisely because of the fluidity of households), but they assume a stable level of income. A recurrent theme in this and other research is the insecure and erratic nature of employment, and the variability of earnings.

Proof of income is a basic requirement for a means test (also required for social grants, service tariff rebates, school fee exemptions and hospital fee waivers). The irony is that, while it is relatively easy for income-earners in the formal sector to provide proof of income, this is more difficult for those who have no regular or formal employment.

Although the qualifying criteria for a housing subsidy are defined in the policy, it is difficult in practice for eligible people, through their own agency, to obtain a subsidised house. This is partly because of a tiered targeting process, in which allocations to individual applicants are preceded by spatial or community level targeting. Individual households may meet the criteria for a subsidy, but whether or not they can access one is largely dependent on where they happen to live.

Around half of South Africa's children live in rural areas, while the housing subsidy scheme has been prioritised in urban and metropolitan areas. The National Spatial Development Perspective, a national spatial framework for development, emphasises the need to focus development in areas which are economic hubs. While the housing need is not regarded as being as severe in rural areas, for instance because issues of over-crowding are not as pronounced as in cities, it is through the housing process that infrastructure and services can, in theory, be brought to under-serviced areas. In the absence of rural housing programmes, it is important that the provision and upgrading of basic services to rural areas is not overlooked.

It is possible that the upgrading of informal settlements to formal housing areas will be followed by an influx of children from rural areas, or at least a reversal of the movement from urban to rural areas which appears to be happening amongst children after their first year. In effect, the housing subsidy could promote the integration of the "family", and enable family life close to work opportunities. This implies that where informal settlement upgrading and urban housing development are undertaken, planners should anticipate the need for increased facilities for children – schools, clinics, safe open spaces, etc. Thus far, this has not been adequately attended to, even when planners are considering the needs of the existing population in a development area. Chapter 13 (now part 3) of the National Housing Code is important in this regard, as it provides not only for the allocation of serviced land to informal residents regardless of the individual eligibility criteria, but also for non-housing expenditures for social infrastructure and facilities such as the development of clinics, community halls and safe open spaces, and for economic infrastructure such as transportation hubs and markets (Huchzermeyer, 2006 p.52). This represents something of a 'paradigm shift' away from the traditional focus on housing delivery, and provides a more practical basis for giving meaning to the assertion that informal settlement support 'needs to go beyond traditional approaches that have tended to concentrate on improvement of housing, infrastructure and the physical environment' but should contribute meaningfully to broader poverty eradication, reducing vulnerability and

promoting inclusion. (Department of Housing 2004 Request for proposals for a Department of Housing study into informal settlements, cited in Huchzermeyer, 2006 p.43)

In theory, housing delivery should address the spatial dimension of poverty in two possible ways: first, housing development entails more than the delivery of houses. Integrated planning is an explicit policy objective, but the housing development projects studied in the two sites fell short of this objective. In the rural site, the housing project had failed to provide beneficiaries with any of the promised services, and the three villages still lack a high school or clinic. Basic infrastructure is essential for the delivery of poverty alleviation programmes. Many remote areas remain physically isolated, without easy road access, and this prevents services from reaching targeted populations. The rural site described in this research is an example of such a place, where the poorly graded primary roads can become impassable in the rainy season, preventing mobile clinics, ambulances and teachers from reaching the area, and simultaneously cutting the population off from public transport that would enable them to access clinics, schools and government offices where they might apply for birth certificates, identity documents, social grants and so on. The urban housing development, which falls within one of the presidential development nodes, was described by residents as a "desert" – devoid of anything other than cement housing structures and literally covered in sand. In practice, integrated development remains a challenge.

Second, the housing programme, if it is to uphold principles of redress, should enable those who have been economically and physically marginalised to make choices about where they live. In practice, however, this is seldom possible. The National Spatial Development Framework provides a rationale for targeting urban areas, and within these, developments (and targeted populations) are informed more by municipal IDPs than by entitlement claims. This form of spatial targeting may be necessary for urban planning and development, but may be one of the reasons why poor applicants fail to negotiate their way up the notorious waiting lists for housing.

Given the multiple rationalities for housing development (Charlton, 2009), including the goal to address spatial inequalities and upgrade urban settlements, the geographic level of targeting is understandable. But it also has implications for children, and particularly those who do not (yet) live within the targeted locations. This juxtapositioning of broad spatial and economic objectives on the one hand, and the duty to realise individual rights on the other, is, I believe, a source of tension in the housing programme, potentially resulting in the exclusion of some of the most vulnerable rights-bearers: poor children, including those living apart from their mothers. As Francie Lund argued in the complicated negotiations around a targeting mechanism for the child support grant: "one cannot impose geographic targeting on something defined in legislation as an individual entitlement" (Lund, 2008:88).

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Survey questionnaire

(questionnaire to be inserted here – see excel file)

APPENDIX 2: Sample design and substitution rules

Umrhabulo Triangle, Area type 1: formal / mixed housing (Village 3)

1 On layout plan, divided Village3 into seven geographically bounded segments for counting, and labelled these A-G

2 Performed erf count from layout plan (erfs run continuously, but groupings are not always continuous)

	erf start #	*erf end #*	*Tot erfs*	*interviews*
A	35937	36300	363	13
B	36302	36924	622	21
C	31195	31780	585	20
D	32094	32414	320	11
D	33049	33131	82	3
D	36927	36955	28	1
D	56721	56837	116	4
E	36957	37258	301	10
F	32448	32741	293	10
F	32813	33048	235	8
F	33132	33353	221	8
G	31783	32092	309	11
G	32416	32447	31	1
G	32743	32772	29	1
TOTAL			**3535**	**122**

3 Calculated sampling interval for Village 3

Dwellings: 3535
Sample: 120
Interval: 29.45833

4 Generated 14 random numbers between 0 and 28 (the highest series number) - to designate starting point for each series.

5 generated appropriate number of sampling points (erfs) for each series, using sampling interval of 29

6 highlighted sampled erfs on layout plan

7 provided each fieldworker with a street map and list of street addresses + erf numbers

<u>fieldworkers briefed as follows:</u>

a) find the correct sampled address and knock on the door of the main dwelling
b) brief introduction, then ask if there are any children living in the dwelling or in any other dwellings on the property.
c) conduct separate interviews in ALL dwellings on the erf where there are children (i.e. we allow for multiple interviews per sampling point)
d) if no children on the site, move to next sampling point - no substitution

e) if there are children but appropriate respondent is not available to be interviewed, make an appointment to return
f) if there are children but interview is refused, move to next sampling point - no substitution
g) if the sampled erf is not a residential dwelling (eg. Vacant land or shop), substitute with the first residential dwelling to the right of sampled site.

Umrhabulo Triangle , Area type 2: RDP housing development (Kuyasa)

1 Divided area into three geographically bounded segments for counting, and labelled these A-C

2 Performed erf count from layout plan (erfs run continuously, but groupings are not always continuous))

	erf start #	*erf end #*	*Tot erfs*	*interviews*
A	54383	54439	56	5
B	54446	55336	890	81
C	55362	55585	223	20
TOTAL			**1169**	**106**

3 Calculated sampling interval for Kuyasa

Dwellings: 1169
Sample: 100
Interval: 11.69

4 Generated 3 random numbers between 0 and 11 - to designate starting point for each series.

5 generated appropriate number of sampling points (erfs) for each series, using sampling interval of 11

6 highlighted sampled erfs on layout plan

7 provided each fieldworker with a street map and list of street addresses + erf numbers. Fieldworkers briefed as for Village 3.

Note: in Kuyasa, there were numerous sampled erfs where the construction of the house was not yet complete, or had not even started. Here, we extended the substitution rule - making it possible to substitute twice (to the right) if the sampled site was not occupied.

Umrhabulo Triangle, Area type 3: Informal settlement without infrastructure / street grid (Inkanini)

1 No layout plans available, and no knowledge of the number of households / residents (est: 8500-9000 HHs). Therefore we had two options for sampling:

a) sample from aerial photos - but these were out of date - a drive around the area showed that it had extended since the aerial photos were taken in 2004

b) sample on the ground - we opted for this approach

2 Ntlazane Road cuts through the middle of Inkanini. We used this to define starting points.

3 identified 25 starting points from Ntlazane Road. A starting point is the beginning of a clear path. Recorded the starting point by writing down the number of the shack or describing a landmark at the start. Points needed to be spaced so that paths are unlikely to cross, and at regular intervals. Used telephone poles along the road to regulate the spacing of paths and ensure that they are equidistant. We identified a clear path a close as possible to each mid-point between telephone poles.

4 Each fieldworker received between 2 and 4 starting points. They each received a random starting number ranging from 1 to 5. This number determined the first visiting point along the path. Fieldworkers only sampled on one side of the path (those with an even starting number interviewed on the RHS, while those with an odd starting number interviewed on the LHS only. From the first visiting point, fieldworkers proceeded along the path, interviewing on the appropriate side with a sampling interval of 5. (We had initially tried to do it with a sampling interval of 10, on both sides of the path - but because of the haphazard layout, there were difficulties in determining which side of the path to sample where two shacks were opposite each other – left it open to subjectivity / risk of bias - hence the one-side-only rule.)

5 in piloting the sampling method, it appeared unlikely that more than 10 shacks would ever be sampled along a single path - the "depth" of the settlement was limited by Baden Powell road on one side, and Village 3 on the other.

6 the area is criss-crossed by many paths, which are not at all straight. Moreover, many paths had been closed off by residents who had erected fences and gates around their shacks. In order to prevent paths crossing, fieldworkers were instructed to walk as straight as possible (in most cases it was possible to identify a landmark - for instance, a large bush on the hill behind the settlement - and to keep walking towards it). Where the way was blocked, they were to regard the blockage as an obstacle and return to their straight line as soon as possible.

7 It was important to have a record of the route and the dwellings - firstly so that sampled households could be identified for check-backs, and secondly because it must be possible to locate them again for the qualitative study. Fieldworkers recorded the direction of their path (using L / R / straight from the starting point), and wrote a brief description of the shack. Most shacks have numbers (spray-painted in red by the land-invasion Controller in 2004) - and these numbers were also recorded. Shacks that have been erected more recently do not have numbers; here we will rely on the route and the description of the shack's features. In addition, many of the respondents have cell phones, and these numbers were captured on the questionnaires. If we are unable to find a shack, it may be possible to contact a potential participant by phone.

Teko Springs villages

1 Identified three adjacent villages: Teko Springs / Rarayo / Nkelekethe (same Nkosi, all part of a Dept Housing development project under Amatole District Municipality)

2 For each village, performed erf count from layout plan (erfs run continuously, but groupings are not always continuous)

3 Excluded all existing erfs marked V (vacant)

4 Entered the dummy erf numbers for all non-vacant sites on a spreadsheet, and sorted them chronologically

5 Decided on a sampling interval of 3 - to slightly over-sample

6 Generated a random number between 0 and 3 (result was 1) - used this as starting number for sampling

7 systematically sampled every third erf in the lists

8 Highlighed sampled erfs on the layout plan

9 field manager and researcher accompanied fieldworkers, to assist in identifying sampled erfs on the ground (this was difficult, since roads are almost non-existent, and many sites do not have boundaries)

<u>fieldworkers briefed as follows:</u>

a) find the correct address and knock on the door of the main dwelling
b) brief introduction, then ask if there are any children living in the dwelling or in any other dwellings on the property.
c) conduct separate interviews in ALL dwellings on the erf where there are children (i.e. we allow for multiple interviews per sampling point)
d) if no children on the site, move to next sampling point - no substitution
e) if there are children but appropriate respondent is not available to be interviewed, make an appointment to return
f) if there are children but interview is refused, move to next sampling point - no substitution
g) if the sampled erf is not a residential dwelling (eg. vacant land or shop), substitute with the first residential dwelling to the right of sampled site.

Amendments to substitution rules

The sampling rule was extended to two sites (to the right), due to the large number of vacant / unoccupied sites. Unoccupied sites were those which had not been identified as "vacant" on the layout plan, but where people were not living. This happened for three main reasons:

- there were few sites where there were no buildings. For some reason, these had not been defined as vacant on the layout plan, and had therefore been sampled even though there were no dwellings indicated on the plan.
- A number of sampled sites had dwellings that were deserted or ruined. Anecdotal evidence was that when residents die or move away, their houses are often simply left vacant. Dwellings made of mud and thatch deteriorate particularly fast – and in some cases the only sign of a previous dwelling was a raised ring in the ground.
- Some sampled sites had dwellings that were permanently locked because the owners were living somewhere else. This happened particularly in Krakrayo, where there were a number of cases where owners lived and worked in the city (mainly East London or Cape Town), and returned only during December. These sampled sites were treated in the same way as unoccupied sites (i.e. substitution was allowed),

because those households could not have been surveyed, and did not constitute part of the population at that time of year.

Altogether, 23% of sampled erfs were not occupied (ruined / vacant or non-existent dwellings, or owners living elsewhere) – and had to be substituted. Not all of them could be substituted, however, due to the small sampling interval. This meant that our final sample was smaller than originally anticipated. Nevertheless, the sample achieved represented 35% of all occupied sites with children.

When substituting, it was sometimes difficult to determine which was the site to the right. This was because there are few clear roads, and the sites do not have boundaries. Often, the map would show a site to the right, but on the ground this was actually on the left because the dwellings were facing the other way - eg. access from a footpath, but rather than facing the path, the buildings face outwards, over the valley.

We therefore refined the sampling rule as follows:

- if the sampled site has a boundary (eg a fence) and a gate, then the substitute site is to the right when standing at the gate facing the site.
- if the sampled site has no boundary or gate, then the substitute site is to the right when standing in front of the door of the dwelling, facing the dwelling
- most sites have more than one dwelling; if dwellings are facing in different directions and there is no gate, then the substitute site is to the right when facing the front door of the main dwelling (the main dwelling is the living room, also usually used for cooking.

Sources for sampling and realising sample
Layout plans
Arial photography
Estimates from Control Officer for Land Invasion (Inkanini only)
Street maps

Final sample achieved

	Western Cape (urban)	Eastern Cape (rural)	Total
Households	308	184	492
Children	640	537	1 177
Mean children per HH	*2.1*	*2.9*	*2.4*
Caregivers	345	216	561
Mean caregivers per HH	*1.1*	*1.2*	*1.1*

APPENDIX 3: Key informant / implementer interviews (housing focus)

Western Cape

1. John Sputa, Community Development Forum chair, Makhaza
2. Maxon Thabile Ludidi, Ward councillor, Makhaza
3. Mr Ncedana, Chair: Khayelitsha Devevlopment Forum
4. Sisa Dywili, member of CDF & Khayelitsha Development Forum committee on water and sanitation, Makhaza
5. Simon Tsholoba & Mr Gideon Ndzutha, SANCO chair and secretary, Nkanini
6. Zwelethu Lithali, Zwelethu Contractors (independent contractor to the Homeless People's Federation, Village 3)
7. Trevor de Klerk, Admin officer, Project approval section, Provincial Department of Local Government & Housing
8. Marcia Helsinger, Assistant Director: Subsidy section, Provincial Department of Local Government & Housing
9. Charlotte Lamohr, Directorate: Housing Project and subsidy administration – Provincial government
10. Theo Bruiners – subsidy approval section, Provincial government
11. Eugene Schwella, Urban Planner, Cape Town Municipality
12. Gavin Wiseman, Project Manager: Kuyasa, Cape Town Municipality

Eastern Cape

1. Christina Dondolo, Ward Councillor (Ward 10, Mnquma municipality)
2. Zonwabele Dyantyi, elected traditional leader for Teko Springs administrative area
3. Nomsa Ndongeni, Local Housing Administrator (volunteer), Theko Springs
4. Malibongwe
5. Andile Mshumpela, Housing Manager, Amatole District Municipality
6. Mrs Soodayal, Director: Policy and Research, Provincial Department of Housing and Traditional Affairs, Eastern Cape, Bisho
7. Sikhumbuzo Yoko, Building and Services planning, Engineering Division, Amathole District Municipality.
8. Zam Sawuti and Dali Matta, Land Affairs, Amathole District Municipality
9. Mike Coleman, Provincial Department of Land Affairs
10. Simphiwe Nojoko, Project Manager (independent consultant), previously Project Manager with Provincial Department of Housing
11. Johann Radloff, Radloff & Associates East London (Urban planner contracted to plan Theko Springs housing development)

APPENDIX 4: Stata do-file: Primary survey analysis on housing eligibility & uptake

```
# delimit;

/* The purpose of this programme is to determine children's eligibility and access to
the Housing Subsidy Scheme via their caregiver */

/* THIS SECTION identifies the caregiver's spouse/partner and collects their income
and personal data from two files, merging them into a new PARTNER file */

use "c:\DATA\M2L_caregiver.dta", clear; /* identifies caregiver's spouse/partner and
keeps their income */
keep hhid index1 idspouse spousinc;
rename idspouse partnerid;
rename index1 pcgid;
rename spousinc partnerinc;
drop if partnerid ==.;
sort hhid partnerid;
save "c:\DATA\temp.dta", replace;

use "c:\DATA\M2L_hhroster.dta", clear; /* this section keeps pension and disability
grant info for caregiver's spouse / partner and merges it with their income */
keep hhid index1 age sex disgrant pension;
rename index1 partnerid;
rename age partnerage;
rename sex partnersex;
rename disgrant partnerdisgrant;
rename pension partnerpension;
sort hhid partnerid;
save "c:\DATA\temp2.dta", replace;

merge hhid partnerid using "c:\DATA\temp.dta";
tab _merge;
drop if _merge ==1;
drop _merge;
list hhid pcgid partnerid if pcgid == partnerid; /*confirm that no caregivers have the
same ID as their partner */
sort hhid partnerid;
save "c:\DATA\partners.dta", replace;

merge hhid partnerid using "c:\DATA\temp2.dta";
tab _merge;
drop if _merge ==1;
drop _merge;
list hhid pcgid partnerid if pcgid == partnerid; /*confirm that no caregivers have the
same ID as their partner */
sort hhid pcgid;
save "c:\DATA\partners.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION collects income and personal data for the caregiver, as well as data
on previous homeownership and access to housing subsidies */

use "c:\DATA\M2L_caregiver.dta", clear;
keep hhid index1 wage igainc privpension rental homeown everown rdphouse rdpapply
rdpnotapply saving;
rename index1 pcgid;
sort hhid pcgid;
save "c:\DATA\caregivers.dta", replace;

use "c:\DATA\M2L_hhroster.dta", clear;
keep if caregive ==1;
keep hhid index1 site area age sex marry hhspouse disgrant pension;
rename index1 pcgid;
rename age pcgage;
rename sex pcgsex;
rename disgrant pcgdisgrant;
rename pension pcgpension;
sort hhid pcgid;
save "c:\DATA\temp.dta", replace;

merge hhid pcgid using caregivers.dta;
tab _merge;
```

```
drop _merge;
sort hhid pcgid;
save "c:\DATA\caregivers.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION merges caregiver data with their partner/spouse data, allowing me to
calculate joint income */

merge hhid pcgid using partners.dta;
tab _merge;
drop _merge;
sort hhid pcgid;
save "c:\DATA\parents.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION obtains basic demographic data for each child, allowing me to merge
child data with their caregiver + spouse/partner */

use "c:\DATA\M2L_hhroster.dta", clear;
keep if age <18 & age >=0;
keep hhid index1 age sex pcg pcgrel;
rename pcg pcgid;
sort hhid pcgid;
save "c:\DATA\temp.dta", replace;
merge hhid pcgid using parents.dta;
tab _merge;
drop _merge;
rename index1 childid;
rename age childage;
rename sex childsex;
sort hhid;
save "C:\DATA\housingkids.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION adds to child & caregiver data information about the Household - area
type and details of housing & tenure */

use "C:\DATA\M2L_household.dta", clear;
keep hhid prov site area dwelling walls rooms tenure v49_1 v49_2 v49_3 v49_4 v49_6
v49_7 v50_1 v50_2 v51_1 v52_1 v53_1 v51_2 v52_2 v53_2 v54 hhsize;
sort hhid;
save "C:\DATA\temp.dta", replace;
merge hhid using housingkids.dta;
tab _merge;
drop _merge;
save "C:\DATA\housingkids.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable to define age eligibility on basis of pcg's
or partner's age - one applicant must be over 21 */

gen eligage = 0;
replace eligage = 1 if pcgage >=21 & pcgage !=.;
replace eligage = 1 if pcgage == -9; /* only non-children can have unknown ages
recorded */
replace eligage = 1 if partnerage >=21 & partnerage !=. & marry ==1;
replace eligage = 1 if partnerage == -9;
label var eligage "1 if pcg/partner is 21+, 0 if under age";
tab area eligage;

/* THIS SECTION calculates the total joint income of caregiver + spouse/parnter from
wages, income generation and grants */

gen totinc = 0; /* variable for combined pcg + partner income from various sources */
replace totinc = totinc + wage if wage >=0 & wage !=.;
replace totinc = totinc + igainc if igainc >=0 & igainc !=.;
replace totinc = totinc + privpension if privpension >=0 & privpension !=.;
replace totinc = totinc + rental if rental >=0 & rental !=.;
replace totinc = totinc + partnerinc if partnerinc >=0 & partnerinc !=.;
label var totinc "pcg + partner income";

gen totgrants = 0; /* variable for combined pcg + partner income from grants */
replace totgrants = totgrants + 780 if pcgpension == 1;
replace totgrants = totgrants + 780 if partnerpension == 1;
replace totgrants = totgrants + 780 if pcgdisgrant == 1;
replace totgrants = totgrants + 780 if partnerdisgrant == 1;
label var totgrants "pcg + partner grants";

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable to determine whether pcg+partner pass the
means test for housing subsidy */
```

```
gen eligincome =.;
replace eligincome = 1 if totinc + totgrants <3500;
replace eligincome = 0 if totinc + totgrants >=3500;
label var eligincome "1 if under R3500 threshold, 0 if not eligible";
tab area eligincome;

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable for existing home-ownership as reported for
pcg's & their partner/spouse */

gen pcgowner = 0;
replace pcgowner = 1 if v53_1 == pcgid; /* includes pcg's who are reported as first
owner of current dwelling */
replace pcgowner = 1 if v53_2 == pcgid; /* includes pcg's who are reported as second
owner of current dwelling */
replace pcgowner = 1 if v53_1 == partnerid & partnerid !=.; /* includes pcg's whose
partners are first owner of current dwelling */
replace pcgowner = 1 if v53_2 == partnerid & partnerid !=.; /* includes pcg's whose
partners are second owner of current dwelling */
replace pcgowner = 1 if rdphouse <3; /* includes 20 pcg's who do not own their current
dwelling but are beneficiaries of housing subsidies */
label var pcgowner "1 if self-defined owner, 0 if non-owner";
tab area pcgowner, row;

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable for children who are eligible on the basis
that their caregivers/s;pouses are not existing property owner, or were not owners at
the time they received their subsidies */*/

gen eligprop = .;
replace eligprop = 1 if pcgowner ==0; /* treats as potentially eligible all those who
do not own their homes */
replace eligprop = 1 if rdphouse ==1; /* treats as eligible all those who have
received this house through the subsidy scheme */
replace eligprop = 1 if rdphouse ==2; /* treats as eligible all those who have
received a subsidy house somewhere else */
replace eligprop = 1 if rdphouse ==3; /* treats as potentially eligible all those who
have not received housing subsidies */
replace eligprop = 0 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_1 ==1 & walls <3
& walls >0; /* ineligible if pcg owner bought a formal house for cash & did not
receive subsidy */
replace eligprop = 0 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_3 ==1 & walls <3
& walls >0; /* ineligible if pcg owner bought a formal house with a loan & did not
receive subsidy */
replace eligprop = 0 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_6 ==1 & walls <3
& walls >0; /* ineligible if pcg owner inherited the house & did not receive subsidy
*/
replace eligprop = 0 if area ==3 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_1 ==1 & walls <3
& walls >0; /* ineligible if pcg owner bought the house & did not receive subsidy */
replace eligprop = 0 if area ==2 & rdphouse ==2; /* ineligible if informal residents
have received subsidy for house somewhere else */
replace eligprop = 0 if area ==4 & rdphouse ==2; /* ineligible if rural residents have
received subsidy for house somewhere else */
label var eligprop "1 if non-homeowner, 0 if not eligible";
tab area eligprop, row;

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable to determine whether children are eligible
via their caregiver, on the basis of age, income and homeownership */

gen eligible = 0;
replace eligible = 1 if eligage ==1 & eligincome ==1 & eligprop ==1;
tab area eligible, row;
save "C:\DATA\housingkids.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable to determine uptake of the housing subsidy
amongst children via their caregiver */

gen hss =0; /* initially, all children are regarded as non-beneficiaries */
replace hss = 1 if rdphouse <3; /* self-reported beneficiaries */
replace hss = 1 if v49_7 ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & area !=2; /* self-reported RDP / subsidy
house from govt, except for informal settlement */
replace hss = 1 if area ==3 & pcgowner ==1; /* assumed that residents in Kuyasa are
subsidy beneficiaries unless specified otherwise */
replace hss = 0 if area ==3 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_1 ==1; /* Kuyasa residents are non-
beneficiaries if they bought the house & did not receive a subsidy */
replace hss = 1 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /* assumed that
caregiver-owners of formal houses in Village 3 are beneficiaries unless specified
otherwise */
```

```
replace hss = 0 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_1 ==1 & walls <3 &
walls >0; /* Village 4 formal owners are non-beneficiaries if they specify no subsidy
& bought the house for cash */
replace hss = 0 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_3 ==1 & walls <3 &
walls >0; /* Village 4 formal owners are non-beneficiaries if they specify no subsidy
& bought the house with a loan */
replace hss = 0 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & rdphouse ==3 & v49_1 ==1 & walls <3 &
walls >0; /* Village 4 formal owners are non-beneficiaries if they specify no subsidy
& inherited the house */
label var hss "1 if subsidy beneficiary, 0 if no subsidy";
label define hss 1"housing subsidy" 0"no housing subsidy";
label values hss hss;
tab area hss, row;

tab hss eligible if prov ==1, row col;
tab hss eligible if prov ==2, row col;

gen quadhouse =.;
replace quadhouse = 1 if eligible == 1 & hss == 1;
replace quadhouse = 2 if eligible ==1 & hss == 0;
replace quadhouse = 3 if eligible == 0 & hss == 1;
replace quadhouse = 4 if eligible ==0 & hss ==0;
label var quadhouse "1= elig + access, 2= elig no access, 3= no elig + access, 4= no
elig no access";
tab quadhouse prov, col;
save "C:\DATA\housing.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION includes weighting factors from child database */

use "C:\DATA\M2L_children.dta", clear;
keep hhid index1 childwgt;
rename index1 childid;
sort hhid childid;
save "C:\DATA\temp.dta", replace;
use "C:\DATA\housing.dta", clear;
sort hhid childid;
merge hhid childid using temp.dta;
tab _merge;
drop _merge;
save "C:\DATA\housing.dta", replace;

/* THIS SECTION creates a dummy variable to determine caregiver's tenure status */

gen ownership = .;
replace ownership = 0 if pcgowner ==0; /* self-declared non-owners */
replace ownership = 2 if rdphouse ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /* treats as secure
tenure all those who have received a formal house through the subsidy scheme */
replace ownership = 2 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & v49_1 ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /*
secure tenure if bought a formal house for cash - Village 3*/
replace ownership = 2 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & v49_3 ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /*
secure tenure bought a formal house with a loan - Village 3*/
replace ownership = 2 if area ==1 & pcgowner ==1 & v49_6 ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /*
secure tenure if inherited a formal house - Village 3 */
replace ownership = 2 if area ==3 & pcgowner ==1 & v49_1 ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /*
secure tenure if bought a formal house for cash  - Kuyasa*/
replace ownership = 2 if area ==3 & pcgowner ==1 & v49_3 ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /*
secure tenure bought a formal house with a loan - Kuyasa*/
replace ownership = 2 if area ==3 & pcgowner ==1 & v49_6 ==1 & walls <3 & walls >0; /*
secure tenure if inherited a formal house - Kuyasa*/
replace ownership = 1 if area ==4; /* communal tenure if living in rural site */
replace ownership = 0 if area ==2; /* insecure tenure if living in informal settlement
*/
label var ownership "2 if individual tenure, 1 if communal tenure, 0 if no tenure";

gen pcgown = .;
replace pcgown = 2 if v53_1 ==pcgid & v50_2 ==0; /* caregiver is sole owner of
dwelling */
replace pcgown = 1 if v53_1 ==pcgid & v50_2 ==1; /* caregiver is first mentioned of
two joint owners of dwelling */
replace pcgown = 1 if v53_2 ==pcgid & v50_1 ==1 & v53_1 !=pcgid; /* caregiver is
second mentioned of two joint owners */
replace pcgown = 0 if v53_1 !=pcgid &  v53_1 !=pcgid; /* caregivers is not an owner */
label var pcgown "2 if pcg homeowner, 1 if joint homeowner, 0 if pcg non-owner";
label define pcgown 0"pcg non-owner" 1"pcg joint owner" 2" pcg sole owner";
label values pcgown pcgown;
```

APPENDIX 5: Stata do-file: Secondary analysis of General Household Survey data

```
/* SETUP AND LABELS */
svyset psu [pweight=pers_wgt], strata(prov) vce(linearized) singleunit(missing)

label define prov 1 "Western Cape"
label define prov 2 "Eastern Cape",add
label define prov 3 "Northern Cape",add
label define prov 4 "Free State",add
label define prov 5 "KwaZulu-Natal",add
label define prov 6 "North West",add
label define prov 7 "Gauteng",add
label define prov 8 "Mpumalanga",add
label define prov 9 "Limpopo",add
label values prov prov
tab prov

gen child = 0
replace child= 1 if age <18
label define child 0"adult" 1"child"
label values child child
gen agegroup = recode(age,5,11,17,120,1000)
label define agegroup 5"0-5 yrs" 11"6-11 yrs" 17"12-17 yrs" 120"18-110 yrs"
1000"unspecified"
label values agegroup agegroup
tab agegroup

/* Co-residence with parents */
gen parents=999999
replace parents=1 if  q14bmpar ==1 &  q13bfpar ==1
replace parents=2 if  q14bmpar ==1 &  q13bfpar ==2
replace parents=2 if  q14bmpar ==1 &  q13bfpar ==8
replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==1 &  q13bfpar ==9

replace parents=3 if  q14bmpar ==2 &  q13bfpar ==1
replace parents=4 if  q14bmpar ==2 &  q13bfpar ==2
replace parents=4 if  q14bmpar ==2 &  q13bfpar ==8
replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==2 &  q13bfpar ==9

replace parents=3 if  q14bmpar ==8 &  q13bfpar ==1
replace parents=4 if  q14bmpar ==8 &  q13bfpar ==2
replace parents=4 if  q14bmpar ==8 &  q13bfpar ==8
replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==8 &  q13bfpar ==9

replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==9 &  q13bfpar ==1
replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==9 &  q13bfpar ==2
replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==9 &  q13bfpar ==8
replace parents=. if  q14bmpar ==9 &  q13bfpar ==9

label define parents 1"both" 2"mother only" 3"father only" 4"neither parent"
9"unspecified"
label values parents parents

svy,subpop(child): prop parents, over(prov)
svy,subpop(child): prop parents

/* Housing type */
generate housing = q41maind
replace housing=1 if q41maind==1 | q41maind==3 | q41maind==4 | q41maind==5
replace housing=2 if q41maind==6 | q41maind==7 | q41maind==8 | q41maind==9 |
q41maind==10
replace housing=3 if q41maind==2
replace housing=. if q41maind==11
replace housing=. if q41maind==99
label define housing 1"formal" 2"informal" 3"traditional" 11"other" 99"unspecified"
label values housing housing

svy,subpop(child): prop housing, over(agegroup)
svy,subpop(child): prop housing, over(prov)
svy,subpop(child): prop housing

/* Overcrowding */
```

```
sort uqnr personnr
gen number=1
egen hhsize = sum(number), by(uqnr)
browse uqnr personnr hhsize
gen unit=hhsize
generate persroom = hhsize/q45totrm

generate crowded = 999999
replace crowded = 0 if persroom<3
replace crowded = 1 if persroom>2 & q45totrm<99
replace crowded =. if q45totrm==99
label define crowded 0"not crowded" 1"over-crowded" 9"unspecified"
label values crowded crowded

svy,subpop(child): prop crowded, over(prov)
svy,subpop(child): prop crowded

/* Electricity */
gen electricity = 999999
replace electricity=0 if q434main==2
replace electricity=1 if q434main==1
replace electricity=. if q434main==9
label define electricity 0"no mains" 1"mains" 9"unspecified"
label values electricity electricity

svy,subpop(child): prop electricity, over(prov)
svy,subpop(child): prop electricity

/* Drinking water on site */
generate wateronsite = 999999
replace wateronsite = 0 if q419drin>04 & q419drin<13
replace wateronsite = 1 if q419drin<05
replace wateronsite=. if q419drin==13
replace wateronsite=. if q419drin==99
label define wateronsite 0"inadequate" 1"adequate" 13"other" 99"unspecified"
label values wateronsite wateronsite

svy,subpop(child): prop wateronsite, over(prov)
svy,subpop(child): prop wateronsite

/* Sanitation */
gen toilet=999999
replace toilet = 0 if q430typt==32 | q430typt==33 | q430typt==52 | q430typt==53 |
q430typt==62 | q430typt==63 | q430typt==73
replace toilet = 1 if q430typt==11 | q430typt==12 | q430typt==13 | q430typt==21 |
q430typt==22 | q430typt==23 | q430typt==42 | q430typt==43
replace toilet=. if q430typt==99
label define toilet 0"inadequate" 1"adequate" 9"unspecified"
label values toilet toilet

svy,subpop(child): prop toilet, over(prov)
svy,subpop(child): prop toilet
```

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APPENDIX 1

ENGLISH

The Means to Live - Household Survey Questionnaire

HOUSEHOLD ID NUMBER (1) (2) (3)

province | sample # | HH# interviewed

1.1 PROVINCE (4)

1	Western Cape
2	Eastern Cape

1.2 Area type (5)

1	urban formal / mixed
2	urban informal
3	urban RDP-type development
4	rural village
5	rural scattered

PARTICULARS OF VISITS

Main respondent name:

Sampled address:

(or physical identification)

Contact tel number/s:

Response details:	Date (7)	Time (8)	Response (9)	Next visit (planned)
1st visit: (6)	dd / mm 2005	h h : m m		
2nd visit	dd / mm 2005	h h : m m		
3rd visit				

RESPONSE CODES	
Questionnaire completed	1
Interview partly completed - return visit required	2
Appropriate respondent not avail - appointment mad	3
No one home	4
Interview refused - move to next sampling point	5
No children in household	6
Other (specify)	7

FINAL INTERVIEW:

Date of consent: (10) / / 2005

Interview start time: (11)

Date of final interview: (12) / / 2005

end time: (13)

Interviewer pledge (sign when the interview is complete)

I certify that this is a true interview. It has been completed in full, with the respondent/s, and according to the instructions received from the Children's Institute & Citizen Surveys

Interviewer's signature *Date*

Interviewer (full name) (14)

Supervisor check *date:* *signature*

Back-checked *date:* *signature*

Post-coded *date:* *signature*

RESPONDENT IDENTIFICATION AND INFORMED CONSENT

Ask to speak to an adult caregiver in the household. If this is a child-headed household, speak to the oldest child available.

INTRODUCTION:

Hello, my name is …….. and I am conducting a survey about government services and programmes in your area. This research is being undertaken by an independent research institute at the University of Cape Town. It has not been commissioned by the government, but we will try to use the information to help government improve the way in which it delivers services to people. We are interviewing many different households in ……. In the interviews we are asking questions about the children in the household - their health needs and where they go for treatment, which schools they go to and how much this costs the household. We also ask about services such as water and sanitation, and ask for information about members of the household - their names and ages, what people do to earn an income, and so on. Who would be the best person to talk to about these things and tell me about the children in this household?

Note: if you are introduced to another household member, go over the introduction again. If no children in household, close interview.

PROCEDURES

I would like to ask you questions about this household and particularly about children in the household. The interview should not take more than an hour.

The information you give me will be kept private. Your answers will be put together with those from hundreds of other households in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape. No one will be able to know what you or any other individual has said. Your personal details will not appear in any reports that come out of this study.

BENEFITS

There is no direct benefit to you in being in the study, other than a chance to discuss your household's needs and experiences. But the results of the survey will help the researchers to make recommendations to government for ways to improve the delivery of services and programmes, and may therefore help people in need of services in the future.

If you decide you do not want to join in this study, you are free to refuse. Whether you agree or refuse to be interviewed, this will have no effect on your ability to receive services from the government, and your decision will be confidential. However, we very much want you to participate.

If you agree to the interview, you do not have to answer a particular question if you do not want to. You are also free to stop the interview at any time if you do not want to continue.

There are no right or wrong answers. I just want to ask about your situation and needs as someone who cares for children.

1.3 CONSENT

Are you willing to be interviewed? (15) 1 Yes 2 No

if yes:

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

I have a questionnaire here, which lists all the questions I am going to ask, and I will write down the answers. If you do not understand any of the questions, please tell me and I will explain.

Do you have any questions before we start?

If, at any time after I leave, you have questions about this study, you may also contact one of the researchers from the University of Cape Town. *(Give the respondent a card if they want one.)*

SECTION 1 : HOUSEHOLD PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS & SERVICES

1.4 How many different households live on this property, including any other dwellings on the property? (16) ☐

By "household" I mean a family or group of household members who usually live and eat together and who sleep here at least 4 nights a week.

If more than one household: For the rest of this interview, we will just be talking about YOUR household - that is, all the people who usually live and eat meals together with you.

1.5 *Interviewer: Indicate the type of MAIN DWELLING that the respondent's household occupies*

(17)

1	Formal dwelling / house / brick structure on a separate stand or yard
2	Traditional dwelling / hut / structures made of traditional materials
3	Flat or apartment in a block of flats
4	Town house / cluster home / semi-detached house (simplex / duplex or triplex)
5	Informal dwelling / shack in backyard
6	Informal dwelling NOT IN BACKYARD (eg. separate stand / informal settlement)
7	Room / flatlet on a larger property - not informal
8	Other (specify):

1.6 What is the MAIN material used for the walls of this dwelling?

[one answer only - if more than one dwelling, record for household's MAIN dwelling]

(18)

1	bricks	6	cardboard
2	cement block / concrete	7	mixture of mud & cement
3	corrigated iron / zinc	8	wattle & daub
4	wood	9	Other (specify):
5	plastic		

1.7 In what condition are the walls and the roof of the main dwelling?

	(19) Walls	Roof (20)
1. Very bad	1	1
2. Bad	2	2
3. Needs minor repairs	3	3
4. Good	4	4
5. Very good	5	5

1.8 Does this household use electricity?

(21) 1 Yes 2 No → *If no, SKIP to Q 1.9*

if yes: a) How much money does the household usually spend on electricity each month? (22) R ____

b) Does the household have an electricity meter or a pre-paid box?

(23)

1	metered	3	neither (eg. illegal connection)
2	pre-paid	9	D/K

c) Does the household receive accounts for electricity?

(24) 1 Yes 2 No 9 D/K

1.9 What is the MAIN type of toilet facility used by this household?

CLARIFY - one answer only. Clarify whether in dwelling, on site or off site.

(25)

		A. in dwelling	B. on site	C. off site
1	Flush toilet	2	3	8
2	Chemical toilet		4	9
3	Pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)		5	10
4	Pit latrine without ventilation pipe		6	11
5	Bucket toilet		7	12
6	No sanitation / open veld			13

1.10 What is the MAIN source of water for this household?

CLARIFY- one answer only

(26)

1	Tap (piped) water inside dwelling	4	Flowing water / stream / river
2	Tap (piped) water on site or in yard	5	Dam / pool / stagnant water
3	Public / communal tap	6	Other (specify):

1.11 *If no tap on site (i.e. if 3-6 above):*

How long does it take to walk to the nearest water source?

(27) 1 less than 15 minutes 2 more than 15 minutes 3 N/A

SKIP to Q. 1.14

1.12 *If tap in dwelling or on site, ask 1.12 & 1.13:*

(28) How many people altogether use this water regularly / every day including babies, tenants in outside dwellings, neighbours, etc.? ____

1.13 Do you have... *[READ OUT - one answer only]*

(29)

1	A water meter that measures how much water you use?
2	A pre-paid water meter with a card
3	A flow restrictor that cuts off the water after certain amount?
4	An arrangement that you only use water at certain times of day?
5	Any other system for measuring how much water you use?

ASK ALL:

1.14 In the past 3 months, has the water supply ever been interrupted or disconnected; (eg. has water stopped coming out of your taps / has the water source run dry?)

(30) 1 Yes 2 No *SKIP to Q 1.15*

if yes:

(31) a) How many times has this happened in the last 3 months? ____

b) Why was the water supply interrupted or disconnected?

[DO NOT PROMPT]

(32)

1	broken / leaking water pipe / disconnected for maintenance
2	household did not pay water account / disconnected because of arrears
3	household used its quota of water for the month / cut off by flow restrictor
4	water is only provided at certain times of day (eg. no water in the mornings)
5	water source ran out / stream dried up
6	don't know
7	other (specify):

1.15 Does the household receive accounts for water?

(33) 1 Yes 2 No 9 D/K

1.16 How much does the household usually pay for water in a month?

(34) R _____

if nothing:

(b) Why does the household not pay for water? *[Clarify]*

(35)

1	the household only uses the communal supply - no charges
2	the household receives water to the property but is not charged / no accounts
3	only use the free basic amount / 6kl
4	have a flow resctrictor - cannot use more than free amount
5	cannot afford to pay
6	other (specify):

INTERVIEWER: ASK TO SEE COPY OF A RECENT WATER / UTILITY BILL.

1.17 *Record result:*

(36)
1	*account seen (record details)*
2	*HH does not receive accounts*
3	*Respondent unable / unwilling to show account*

1.18 *Type of account:*

(37)
1	water only
2	rates & services
6	… other (describe): _____

1.19 *Record account details:*

(38) (a) *Account date:* _____

(39) (b) *Water consumption* _____

(40) [c] *Actual reading?* 1 Yes 2 No

(41) (d) *Period of consumption* _____

(43) (e) *Water charges:* _____

(44) (f) *Total arrears* _____

(45) (g) *Land value:* _____

(46) (h) *Building value:* _____

1.20 What is the total number of rooms in the dwelling(s) / compound that the household occupies including living rooms, bedrooms and kitchens, but EXCLUDING bathrooms and toilets?

(47) _____ *(no. of rooms)*

1.21 Is this home owned or rented, or occupied for free? Please explain to me how you stay in this dwelling. *[Use answers to clarify]*

(48)
1	… owned, with no loans to pay off?
2	… owned, but not yet fully paid off? (eg. with a mortgage / micro loan)
3	… rented?
4	… not owned or rented, but occupied for free, as part of the employment contract of a family member?
5	… not owned or rented, but occupied for free (eg allocated land) - not part of an employment contract?
6	… other (specify): _____

⇨ *If not owned (3, 4 or 5) SKIP to Q.1.25*

1.22 *If OWNED (1 or 2 above):* How did this property come to be owned? [How did you get your house?]

[READ OUT each and circle if "yes". Multiple mentions possible]

(49)
1	bought it with cash
2	bought it with a bond or home loan
3	bought it with a small / personal / micro loan
4	was allocated the land and built the house
6	inherited from a family member / friend
7	RDP house / subsidy house / received from government or local authority
8	other (specify): _____

1.23 *If owned :* Which household member or members actually own the property? [Whose names are listed on the title deed?]

	Name (50)	*Sex* (51) 1 = Male 2 = Female	*Resident* (52) 1 = in the HH 2 = not in the HH	(53) *HH ID#* *[complete after HH roster]*
Owner 1:				
Owner 2:				

if owner(s) live in HH, record HH ID# →

1.24 *If owned :* When did ... *(owners)* become the owners of this property? YEAR: _____ (54)

1.25 Can you get to any of the following public transport services within 15 minutes (1km) of this dwelling if you are WALKING? *READ OUT and answer one at a time:*

(a)	Train	(55)	1	Yes	2	No	9	D/K
(b)	Bus	(56)	1	Yes	2	No	9	D/K
(c)	Minibus taxi	(57)	1	Yes	2	No	9	D/K

1.26 Does the Department of Social Development send officials to visit this area so that people can apply for grants without having to travel far (eg. Child Support Grants)?

(58) 1 Yes 2 No 9 D/K

1.27 Does the post office deliver letters to your house? (59) 1 Yes 2

SECTION 2 : HOUSEHOLD ASSETS & FOOD SECURITY

2.1 Does this household (or members of the household) own any of the following items (in working order)?

60 *READ OUT and answer one at a time:*		Yes	No	
(a)	A working television?	1	2	61
(b)	A refrigerator in working order?	1	2	62
(c)	A working motor car?	1	2	63
(d)	A radio in working order?	1	2	64
(e)	An electric stove that works?	1	2	65
(f)	A telephone inside the house?	1	2	66
(g)	A cell phone?	1	2	67
(h)	A watch or clock?	1	2	68
(i)	Cows (how many?)	1	2	69
(j)	Enough land to grow vegetables?	1	2	70

2.2 In the past year, have there been times when adult members of this household 18 years and older) had to miss meals or go to bed hungry because there wasn't enough food? If so, how often has this happened in the past year?

71	1	Very often	
	2	Often	
	3	Sometimes	
	4	Seldom	
	5	Never	
	6	N/A (no adults in household)	

2.3 In the past year, have there been times when children in this household under 18 years) had to miss meals or go to bed hungry because there wasn't enough food? If so, how often has this happened in the past year?

72	1	Very often
	2	Often
	3	Sometimes
	4	Seldom
	5	Never

2.4 Thinking about other households in this area, would you say that your household is....

READ OUT and select one answer only.

73	1	Poorer than most other households
	2	The same as most other households / average / in between
	3	Bettter off than most other households

2.5 I am going to read out three statements. Please listen to them and tell me which statement best describes your household's financial situation?

READ OUT and select one answer only.

74	1	You usually have enough money to pay for the things you need
	2	You are often poor and often cannot pay for the things you need
	3	You are always poor and always struggle to pay for the things you need

THIS SECTION TO BE CUT AWAY, FOR EASY LINK TO MEMBER ID# AND NAME - SEE NEXT PAGE

SECTION 3: HOUSEHOLD ROSTER

READ OUT: Now I would like to ask you about all the members of this household. By "household" I mean all those who usually eat together and sleep here 4 nights a week - including all babies and non-family members who are regarded as part of the household.

complete these 4 columns for all HH members.
Then complete the rest of Section 3 for one member at a time.

(identifier code for each household member) (70)		**3.1** Age (76) (completed years)	**3.2** Date of birth (77) (dd / mm / yyyy) check ID books if it help to clarify	**3.3** Sex (78) 1 = M 2 = F	**3.4** Relationship to the main respondent (79) 1 = self (respondent) 2 = Spouse / huband / wife 3 = Partner - unmarried 4 = Child 5 = Grandchild 6 = Mother / father 7 = Grandparent 8 = Brother / Sister 9 = Other Relative 10 = Other - not related 98 = Don't know	**3.5** For how long has ... been living in this house? (80) *(completed years)*	**3.6** Does ... have an ID book (or birth certificate if less than 16 yrs) (81) 1 = Yes 2 = No 9 = D/K	**3.7** What is ...'s nationality? (82) 1 = South African 2 = SADC 3 = other Africa 4 = rest of world 9 = Don't know	**3.8** *If not SA:* Does ... have permanent resident or refugee status? (83) 1 = residency 2 = refugee status 3 = none 9 = Don't know 7 = not applicable	**3.9** What education level has ... passed? (84) *(highest only)* 1 = less than Gr 3 2 = Grade 3 / Std 1 3 = Grade 7 / Std 5 4 = Gr 10 / Std 8 / NTC 3 5 = Gr 12 / Std 10 / NTC 6 6 = College (eg nurse) 7 = diploma/Technikor 8 = Univ. degree 9 = DK
ID no.									
-1									
-2									
-3									
-4									
-5									
-6									
-7									
-8									
-9									
-10									
-11									
-12									

SECTION 3: HOUSEHOLD ROSTER (cont...)

THIS SECTION TO BE CUT AWAY, FOR EASY LINK TO MEMBER ID# AND NAME - SEE NEXT PAGE

(identifier code for each household member) ↓ ID no.		(85) **3.10a** How would you describe ...'s current health? 1 = very healthy 2 = healthy 3 = quite healthy 4 = quite unwell 5 = very unwell	(86) **3.10b** *Those who are unwell (4 or 5 in Q 3.10)* How long has ... been unwell? 1 = less than a month 2 = 1 to 3 months 3 = more than 3 mths 9 = D/K 7 = N/A (healthy)	(87) **3.11** Does ... have any kind of disability? (physical or mental) 1 = Yes 2 = No	(88) **3.12** Does ... receive a disability grant from the government? 1 = Yes 2 = No 7 = N/A *not applicable if member is <18 yrs or 60+ yrs (women) or 65+ yrs (men)*	(89) **3.13** *Members 60+ yrs* Does ... receive an old age pension from the government? 1 = Yes 2 = No 7 = N/A *not applicable unless member is: 60+ yrs (women), or 65+ yrs (men)*	(90) **3.14** *Members 16+ yrs* What is ....'s marital status? 1 = married by civil law 2 = married by customary law 3 = married by religious / Muslim law 4 = living with permanent partner 5 = never married 6 = divorced 7 = widowed *For those under 16 yrs, or if not married / living together SKIP to Q 3.17 - next page)*	(91) **3.15** *If married / partner (1-4 in previous Q.)* Does ...'s spouse / partner live in this household... 1 = most of the time 2 = some of the time 3 = almost never 7 = not applicable	(92) **3.16** Household ID # of spouse / partner *(if HH member)*
-1									
-2									
-3									
-4									
-5									
-6									
-7									
-8									
-9									
-10									
-11									
-12									

SECTION 3: HOUSEHOLD ROSTER (cont...)

NB - Identification of main caregiver:
1. Biological mother is main caregiver if she lives in the HH and is 16+ years.
2. if no biological mother over 16+ years, ask (a) and (b)

(identifier code for each household member) ↓ ID no.	NAME (record first name only for each member) NB. Enter the name of the respondent first. *If more than 10 HH members complete an additional questionnaire - remember to record same HH number on the front.*	Age	(93) **3.17a** *All members 12+* Does ... have any living biological children under 18 who do not usually live in this household? 1 = Yes 2 = No 7 = N/A (0-11 yrs) *if no or N/A, SKIP to Q 3.18*	(94) **3.17b** *if YES:* How many children does ... have who are not in this HH? *write in no. of children*	(95) **3.17c** Who are ...'s children living with? 1 = father / mother 2 = grandparent(s) 3 = other relative (eg. Aunt) 4 = non-related caregiver 5 = institution (eg school) 6 = don't know where child is *(multiple mentions possilble; separate by commas)*	(96) **3.17d** Why are ...'s child(ren) living elsewhere? 1 = other parent is the main caregiver 2 = better quality of house to live in 3 = better facilities / schools / clinics.. 4 = a safer environment 5 = better child care arrangements 6 = cannot care for child here 7 = child ran away/ left home 8 = other (specify) *(multiple mentions possilbe; separate by commas)*	(97) **3.18** *All women 12+* Has ... ever had any biological children who are no longer living? If yes, how many children? *write in number if none, write "0" if D/K, record 98*	(98) **3.19** *All children (under 18)* a) who is the MAIN caregiver for this child? *Record HH ID# of main caregiver(s) on each child's line.* *If no biological mother over 16 yrs, also ask:* b) who is the main person in this HH who would apply for a grant for this child? *if different, record ID#*	(99) **3.20** *All children (under 18)* *For each child:* What is the care-giver's relationship to the child? 1 = Biological parent 2 = Grandparent 3 = Sister / brother 4 = other relative 5 = other un-related 9 = Don't know	CODE EACH Caregiver = 1 | Non-caregiver = 0
-1										
-2										
-3										
-4										
-5										
-6										
-7										
-8										
-9										
-10										
-11										
-12										

SECTION 4: CAREGIVER DETAILS

Complete this section only for caregivers identified in Q.3.19 above [i.e. those coded "1" in the grey column]

"Now I would like to ask some questions about members of this household who are parents or main caregivers of the children in the household."

WRITE IN CAREGIVER'S IDENTIFIER NUMBER ↓ ID no.	NAME *(write in caregivers' IDs and names, and check that these correspond to the information on the Household roster)*	(100) 4.1 Does ... have another home somewhere else? (for example, a home in a different province or another town or rural area?) 1 = Yes 2 = No 9 = D/K *if No, skip to Q.4.4*	(101) 4.2 *If YES in 4.1* Where is this other home? (province) 1 = E Cape 2 = F State 3 = Gauteng 4 = KZ Natal 5 = Limpopo 6 = Mpum 7 = N West 8 = N Cape 9 = W Cape 10 = not SA	(102) 4.3 *If YES in 4.1* Who owns this other home? 1 = ... (caregiver self) 2 = spouse / partner 3 = other relative 4 = other non-relative	(103) 4.4 *Ask ALL caregivers* Has ... EVER owned another house, even if they no longer own it? 1 = Yes 2 = No - never *Note: the answer will automatically* be YES if respondent owns this house or a house somewhere else	(104) 4.5 *Ask ALL caregivers* Has ... EVER got a house through the government's housing subsidy scheme (eg. RDP house) - either on their own or through their spouse/ partner? *Clarify:* 1 = Yes - this house 2 = Yes - other house 3 = No - never *If No, SKIP to Q 4.7*	(105) 4.6 *If yes - OTHER house:* Why is ... not living in that subsidy house? 1 = house was sold 2 = house is rented out 3 = separated from partner 4 = better to live here (convenient / safer / ..) 5 - other (specify) 9 = D/K *SKIP to Q 4.9 next page*	(106) 4.7 *if NO in Q 4.5* Has ... EVER applied for a house or housing subsidy from the government's housing subsidy programme? 1 = Yes 2 = No *if yes, SKIP to Q. 4.9 next page*	(107) 4.8 *if NO in Q 4.7* WHY has ... not applied for a house or housing subsidy from the government? 1 = never heard of it 2 = don't know how to apply / need info 3 = don't need a house 4 = not eligible 5 = other (specify)

SECTION 4: CAREGIVER DETAILS (continued…)

WRITE IN MEMBER'S IDENTIFIER NUMBER → ID no.	NAME *(copy caregiver's name and ID # from previous page*	(108) 4.9 *Ask ALL caregivers* Has .. participated in any group savings scheme specifically to save money for a house? If YES, record name of scheme 2 = No 9 = D/K	(109) 4.10 *Ask ALL caregivers* Does ... do any regular work for an employer in order to earn money? If YES, record type of work / employer 2 = No *[if NO, skip to Q 4.12]*	(110) 4.11 *If YES in 4.10* Thinking about last month (or a usual month) how much did ... earn in wages or salary from working for an employer? *Record amount if unknown, write D/K*	(111) 4.12 *Ask ALL caregivers* Does ... do any regular activity of their own to earn some money (even selling sweets or fixing things) If YES, record type of income generating activity 2 = No *[if NO, skip to Q 4.13]*	(112) 4.13 *If YES in 4.12* Thinking about last month (or a usual month) how much did ... make from their own income generating activities? *Record amount if unknown, write D/K*	(113) 4.14 *if NO work in Q 4.10 AND 4.12:* Who supports ... so that s/he can live? *(one answer only: if more than one, clarify who is the MAIN person)* *Record HH ID# of main person who supports caregiver (if not in HH, describe relationship)*	(114) 4.15 *Ask ALL caregivers* Does ... do any voluntary work? [regular work for which they do not get paid] If YES, record type of voluntary activity 2 = No

SECTION 4: CAREGIVER DETAILS (continued…)

WRITE IN MEMBER'S IDENTIFIER NUMBER → ID no.	NAME *(copy caregiver's name and ID # from previous page)*	(115) 4.16 *Ask ALL caregivers* How much, if any, income does … receive each month from family members living elsewhere? (including maintenance for children) *record amount* *if none, write R0*	(116) 4.17 *Ask ALL caregivers* How much, if any, income does … receive each month from private pension schemes or retirement annuities? (NOT govt old age pension) *record amount* *if none, write R0*	(117) 4.18 *Ask ALL* How much, if any, income does … receive per month from rental from tenants? *record amount* *if none, write R0*	(118) 4.19 *Ask ALL caregivers* How much, if any, income has … received in the <u>past year</u> from investments, trust funds, unit trusts, etc? *record amount* *if none, write R0*	(119) 4.20 *Ask ALL caregivers* How much, if any income has … received in the <u>past year</u> from retrenchment payouts or retire-ment packages? *record amount* *if none, write R0*	(120) 4.21 *Ask ALL caregivers* Does … have a spouse [husband / wife] who is <u>not</u> included in this list of caregivers? *read out caregiver names in Col.1* *<u>CLARIFY whereabout</u>* 1 = Yes - lives in HH 2 = Yes - not in HH 3 = No other spouse *(if no, SKIP to 4.23)* *<u>check against 3.14 and 3.15 above</u>*	(121) 4.22 *If yes (has a spouse)* How much does ..'s [husband/wife] earn per month, on average, from employment or from their own income generating activities? *record amount* *if none, write R0*	(122) 4.23 *Ask ALL* Does … have a bank account? 1 = Yes 2 = No 9 = D/K	(123) 4.24 *Ask ALL* Does … have a written will? 1 = Yes 2 = No 9 = D/K
		R	R	R	R	R		R		

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS [NB: FILL IN NAMES AT BOTTOM OF PAGE - 1 COLUMN PER CHILD]

Now I would like to ask some questions about members of this household who are children under 18 years

Interviewer: write in identifier numbers and names of all household members who are children under 18 years (refer to Section 3 - p.8)

Interviewer: write in age of each child

		124	125	126	127	128	129
	identifier #						
130	*name:*						
131	*age:*						

		132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140
5.1	Is the natural (biological) FATHER of ... alive? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.4*	Yes 1 / No 2 / D/K 9								
	If yes: a) Is he living in the household? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.2*	Yes 1 / No 2 / D/K 9								
	If yes: b) Record father's identifier number → *then SKIP to Q 5.5*									
	If not living in the household:									
5.2	Does the father send money / maintenance for ... *[READ OUT]*									
	1 ... regularly				1					
	2 ... occasionally				2					
	3 ... never				3					
5.3	How much money altogether has the father sent for ... in the past 3 months? *Write in amount, then SKIP to Q5.5*	R								
	If father is deceased, ask:									
5.4	How did the father die? *(Do not read out, but use answers to clarify)*									
	1 Violent / accidental death						1			
	2 Acute illness (sick for less than a month)						2			
	3 Chronic illness (sick for a month or longer)						3			
	4 Unkown						4			
	5 Other (specify):									
								138	139	140
5.5	Is the natural (biological) MOTHER of ... alive? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.8*	Yes 1 / No 2 / D/K 9								
	If yes: a) Is she living in the household? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.6*	Yes 1 / No 2 / D/K 9								
	If yes: b) Record mother's identifier no: → *then SKIP to Q 5.9*									
	cut this section away									

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

If not living in the household:							
5.6	Does the mother send money / maintenance for ... *[READ OUT]*						
	1 ... regularly? (141)	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2 ... occasionally?	2	2	2	2	2	2
	3 ... never?	3	3	3	3	3	3
5.7	How much money altogether has the mother sent for ... in the past 3 months? (142)	R	R	R	R	R	R
If mother is deceased, ask:							
5.8	How did the mother die? *(Do not read out, but use answers to clarify)*						
	1 Violent / accidental death (143)	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2 Acute illness (sick for less than a month)	2	2	2	2	2	2
	3 Chronic illness (sick for a month or longer)	3	3	3	3	3	3
	4 Unkown	4	4	4	4	4	4
	5 Other (specify):						
CHILD SUPPORT GRANT							
5.9	Does anyone receive a CHILD SUPPORT GRANT	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	of R180 per month for the child? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.10* (144)	1 / 2	1 / 2	1 / 2	1 / 2	1 / 2	1 / 2
	If yes: a) Who APPLIED for the CSG for ... *(HH ID# or describe)* (145)						
	b) Who RECEIVES the money ... each month? *(HH ID# or describe)* → *SKIP to Q 5.15* (146)						
If no CSG currently:		Yes / No / D/K	Yes / No / D/K	Yes / No / D/K	Yes / No / D/K	Yes / No / D/K	Yes / No / D/K
5.10	Has the R180 Child Grant EVER been received for this child? (147)	1 / 2 / 9	1 / 2 / 9	1 / 2 / 9	1 / 2 / 9	1 / 2 / 9	1 / 2 / 9
	If No, SKIP to Q 5.11						
	If yes: a) In which year did the grant stop? (148)						
	b) why did it stop? 1 child was too old (149)	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2 income was too high	2	2	2	2	2	2
	3 household / child moved away	3	3	3	3	3	3
	4 unknown	4	4	4	4	4	4
	5 other (specify)						
cut this section away							

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

If no CSG ever:		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
5.11 Has anyone ever APPLIED for the R180 Child Grant for ...?	150	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
If No, SKIP to Q 5.12																			
If yes: a) In which year was the most recent applicant made?	151																		
b) What was the outcome of the application?																			
1 approved - waiting for payments to start	152	1			1			1			1			1			1		
2 refused / declined / must reapply		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3 still waiting to hear		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4 other (specify)	153																		
→ *SKIP to Q 5.13*																			
If no application has ever been made for the CSG:																			
5.12 Why has no-one applied for the Child Support Grant for ...?																			
1 Didn't know about the CSG	154	1			1			1			1			1			1		
2 Too far / expensive / difficult to apply		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3 No official caregiver who can apply on behalf of the child		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4 Don't have necessary documents / ID / birth cerificate		4			4			4			4			4			4		
5 Not eligible / income too high		5			5			5			5			5			5		
6 Other (specify):																			
5.13 Do you think this child is eligible for the Child Support Grant?		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
	155	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5.14 Does anyone in the household receive a FOSTER CHILD GRANT		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No	
of R560 per month for the child? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.15*	156	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
If yes: b) Record recipient's identifier number (if not in HH, describe)	157																		
SCHOOL FEE EXEMPTION																			
Children under 7 years ONLY																			
5.15(a) Is the child attending... *[READ OUT and circle one answer only]*	158																		
1 a primary or pre-school for Gr 1 or reception year? *SKIP to Q5.20*		1			1			1			1			1			1		
2 a nursery school / creche / educare centre? *SKIP to Q5.38*		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3 not attending any kind of school or care centre *CONTINUE to 5.15(b)*		3			3			3			3			3			3		
5.15(b) Who takes care of the child during the day?	159																		
Record HH member's identifier number, or describe if not in HH, then SKIP to 5.38																			
cut this section away																			

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

Children 7+ years													
5.16 Is the child attending school? *If YES, skip to Q.5.20*	160	Yes 1	No 2	Yes 1	No 2	Yes 1	No 2	Yes 1	No 2	Yes 1	No 2	Yes 1	No 2
If NOT attending school:	161	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
5.17 a) Was the child enrolled at school this year? *If No, SKIP to Q 5.19*		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
if yes: b) Name of school	162												
c) Place (suburb / village / area name) *If No, SKIP to Q 5.19*	163												
5.18 a) When did the child last attend school? [month + year]	164												
b) Why is this child not attending school now? *[unprompted]*													
1 Too expensive / can't afford fees	165	1		1		1		1		1		1	
2 School is too far away		2		2		2		2		2		2	
3 Child is ill / cannot attend school		3		3		3		3		3		3	
4 Child is staying home to care for sick HH member		4		4		4		4		4		4	
5 Child is working / earning money		5		5		5		5		5		5	
6 Child has completed school / finished Gr 12		6		6		6		6		6		6	
7 Other (specify):													
5.19 Who takes care of the child during the day?	166												
Record HH member's identifier number, or describe if not in HH, then SKIP to 5.38													
If child is attending school:													
5.20 a) What grade is ... in currently?	167												
b) Which school is ... attending? *[name of school]*	168												
c) Place (suburb / village / area name)	169												
5.21 How much are the school fees for the whole year, for this child?	170	R		R		R		R		R		R	
5.22a Have you / anyone already paid school fees for the child this year?													
1 Yes - self / other HH member (record identifier #)	171												
2 Yes - non HH member (describe relationship to child)													
3 Don't know → *SKIP to Q.5.23*		9		9		9		9		9		9	
4 Nobody has paid the fees → *SKIP to Q.5.23*		6		6		6		6		6		6	
5.22b How much has been already been paid for the child's fees this year?	172	R		R		R		R		R		R	

cut this section away

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

5.23 Thinking about other expenses for this child to attend school...																	
READ OUT: a) Uniform: how much has been spent this YEAR?	173	R			R			R			R			R			R		
b) Books & stationery: how much spent this YEAR?	174	R			R			R			R			R			R		
c) School trips & extra murals: how much this YEAR?	175	R			R			R			R			R			R		
d) Transport to school: how much PER MONTH?	176	R			R			R			R			R			R		
I would like to ask you about the school fee exemption, which is a government policy that says that some households who are very poor can apply to have their children's school fees cancelled.		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
5.24 Has ... [child's] school sent out any letters or notices this year, to say that parents who can't afford school fees can apply to have the fees cancelled or reduced?	177	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5.25 Have you [or child's main caregiver] applied to the school for an exemption, so that you do not have to pay fees for this child, or to get the fees reduced? *If No, SKIP to 5.27*	178	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5.26 *if yes:* What was the outcome?	179																		
1 Received full exemption (do not have to pay fees)		1			1			1			1			1			1		
2 Received partial exemption (pay lower fees)		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3 No response yet		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4 Application refused		4			4			4			4			4			4		
5 Met with school governing body - waiting for decision		5			5			5			5			5			5		
6 Other (specify):																			
→ *SKIP TO Q 5.28*	180																		
If no application for fee exemption for this child... 5.27 Why has no one applied to cancel or reduce the school fees for ...?																			
1 Did not know about the exemption / how to do apply	181	1			1			1			1			1			1		
2 School fees are not high / can afford fees / only for the poor		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3 School will not cancel or reduce fees		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4 Ashamed - HH or child will be seen as poor		4			4			4			4			4			4		
5 Other (specify):	182																		
cut this section away																			

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

5.28	Do you think that ... SHOULD be eligibile for a school fee exemption (should be able to have their fees cancelled)?	183	Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No	
			1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
5.29	a) Thinking about this particular school, have you [or caregiver] or your spouse/partner attended any parent meetings since the beginning of the year?	184	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
			1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
if yes:	b) Were school fees and/or exemptions discussed at the meetings?	185	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
NUTRITION PROGRAMME																				
If child is attending school or pre-school			Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
5.30	Does the child receive a free meal or food or bread at school? *if no, SKIP to Q 5.38*	186	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
	5.31 OFFICE (POST- INTERVIEW) : NSNP ACTIVE IN SCHOOL?		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
if child receives free meal at school:																				
5.32	How often does s/he receive a free meal or food at school?																			
	1 Every day - Monday to Friday / more than once a day	187	1			1			1			1			1			1		
	2 3 or 4 times a week		2			2			2			2			2			2		
	3 once or twice a week		3			3			3			3			3			3		
	4 less than once a week		4			4			4			4			4			4		
	5 don't know		5			5			5			5			5			5		
5.33	What kind of food does s/he receive *READ OUT - multi-mention*																			
	1 bread / sandwiches	188	1			1			1			1			1			1		
	2 pap / samp & beans / porridge		2			2			2			2			2			2		
	3 cooked meal - soup / stew / meat / vegetables		3			3			3			3			3			3		
	4 fruit		4			4			4			4			4			4		
	5 other (specify)	189																		
		190	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
5.34	Do ALL children in this child's class receive a free meal or food?		1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5.35	a) Do you / PCG pay any money for the school feeding scheme? *if no, SKIP to Q 5.37*	191	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
if yes:	b) How much do you usually pay? *[Specify per month / per term]*	192	R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term	
cut this section away																				

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

		193	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
5.36	a) Does this HH contribute in any other way to the feeding scheme?		1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98
	if no, SKIP to Q 5.38																			
if yes:	b) In what way does this HH contribute?																			
	1 providing food	194		1			1			1			1			1			1	
	2 providing equipment (eg. pots / cookers / utensils)			2			2			2			2			2			2	
	3 helping to prepare food			3			3			3			3			3			3	
	4 other (specify)	195																		
	c) How much, if anything, are you / is the HH paid for this?																			
	[Specify per month / per term]	196	R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term		R	mth / term	
			Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
5.37	Does the child ever bring home food from school to eat later, or to share with other family members?	197	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98	1	2	98
HEALTH																				
5.38	There are a number of common illnesses and disabilities that are long-term or ongoing. Does this child have any of the following:		NB: ASK FOR ALL CHILDREN - EVEN BABIES!																	
	Read out one at a time and code "yes" or "no" for each		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
	1 TB or tuberculosis	198	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
	2 Asthma	199	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
	3 Cancer or lukaemia	200	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
	4 HIV or AIDS	200	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
	5 Mental illness or disability	202	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
	6 A severe physcial disability (blind / deaf / unable to walk..)	203	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
	7 Any other long-term illness or health problem? (specify)	204																		
5.39	Does anyone in the HH receive a CARE DEPENDENCY GRANT of R780 for the child?	205	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
			1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
5.40	Is the child covered by medical aid or private health insurance?	206	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5.41	Does the child have a Road to Health / clinic card?	207	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
cut this section away																				

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

5.42	In the past 3 months, has ... suffered from any injury or illness? for example: *READ OUT and code for each*		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No	
	a) very bad flu	208	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
	b) diarrhoea or vomiting	209	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
	c) severe trauma / injury (eg. road accident / broken leg)	210	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
	d) a chronic illness such as TB, cancer, HIV/AIDS	211	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
	e) any other illness or injury	212	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
5.43	*If 12+:* In the past 3 months, has.. been pregnant or given birth?	213	1	2	N/A	1	2	N/A	1	2	N/A	1	2	N/A	1	2	N/A	1	2	N/A
5.44	In the past 3 months, how many times has ... been to a health worker such as a nurse, doctor or traditional healer for treatment of an illness or injury, or for innoculations? *[if 12+ years]* or for family planning, maternity?	214																		
if never in 5.44 above:																				
5.45	Why has the child not been to a health worker? *unprompted*																			
1	child was not very ill / did not need to get treatment	215	1			1			1			1			1			1		
2	too far / difficult to get to a health practitioner		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3	too expensive / cannot afford fees or medicines		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4	health practitioner would not be able to treat / cure child		4			4			4			4			4			4		
5	other (specify):																			
	→ *SKIP TO END OF SECTION 5*																			
5.46	What types of health worker has the child seen in the last 3 mths? *[Read out to probe / clarify. Multiple mentions possible]*																			
1	private doctor / GP	216	1			1			1			1			1			1		
2	doctor at clinic / day hospital *[continue to Q. 5.47]*		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3	nurse / sister at clinic / day hospital *[continue to Q. 5 47]*		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4	doctor / nurse at a hospital		4			4			4			4			4			4		
5	traditional healer / sangoma		5			5			5			5			5			5		
6	pharmacist		6			6			6			6			6			6		
7	other (specify):																			
cut this section away																				

SECTION 5: CHILD DETAILS (cont...)

Thinking about the child's most recent visit to a public health service... [by "public service" I mean a government health service]																		
5.47 What was the name of the clinic / hospital the child went to?	217																	
5.48 Who took the child to see the health worker? *[HH ID# or describe]*	218																	
5.49 What service was received / what did the health worker do? *[Read out to probe / clarify. Multiple mentions possible]*																		
1 examination / diagnosis	219	1			1			1			1			1			1		
2 received medicine / treated a wound		2			2			2			2			2			2		
3 x-rays		3			3			3			3			3			3		
4 blood tests		4			4			4			4			4			4		
5 operation		5			5			5			5			5			5		
6 other (specify)																		
5.50 a) Did the child / caregiver have to pay anything for the service?		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
	220	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
if yes: b) How much did s/he have to pay for...? *READ OUT*																			
i) ... the consultation / visit	221	R			R			R			R			R			R		
ii) ... medicines	222	R			R			R			R			R			R		
iii) ... other expenses (specify):	223	R			R			R			R			R			R		
5.51 Were they asked to show the child's Road to Health card?		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
	224	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5.53 Did they experience any difficulties or problems with the service, such as... *[READ OUT and get response to each]*		Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K	Yes	No	D/K
1 facilities not clean	225	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
2 a long waiting time (more than an hour)	226	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
3 opening times not convenient	227	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
4 too expensive	228	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
5 medicines that were needed were not available	229	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
6 staff were rude or uncaring, or turned patient away	230	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
7 incorrect diagnosis	231	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9	1	2	9
8 any other problems (specify):	232																		
Interviewer: copy identifier number and name from previous page — *identifier #:*																			
first name:																			

SECTION 6: AWARENESS & ATTITUDES

We have talked about a number of government programmes in this interview.
Thinking back to before we started the interview....

			1. yes (knew about it)	2. no (never heard of it)
6.1	Did you already know about the Child Support Grant of R180 per month?	233	1	2
6.2	Did you already know about the Education Department's policy to cancel or reduce school fees for very poor children?	234	1	2
6.3	Did you already know about the government's school feeding programme for children in schools?	235	1	2
6.4	Did you already know about the government's policy to provide affordable health care, and free health care for children under 6?	236	1	2
6.5	Did you already know about the government's housing subsidy scheme?	237	1	2
6.6	Did you already know about the government's programme to provide a basic amount of water to poor households for free?	238	1	2

6.7 What could the government be doing to help poor people more? 239

6.8 What could the government be doing to help children more? 240

6.9 a) Do you think your children have BETTER or WORSE opportunities in life than you did?

1	Better
2	Worse
3	Same

241

b) Why do you say that? 242

We have come to the end of the interview.
Thank you very much for your time.

Our research team will be returning to the area in the next few months to do some more research. 243
Would you be willing to participate in any further research? 1 Yes 2 No